

American Quarterly

VOLUME XIII

SUMMER 1961

NUMBER 2 PART 1

EARL H. ROVIT American Literature and "The
American Experience"

MORRELL HEALD Business Thought in the Twenties:
Social Responsibility

GALEN BROEKER Jared Sparks, Robert Peel and the
State Paper Office

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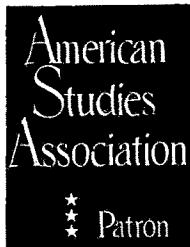
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No. 2, Pt. 1

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AMERICAN QUARTERLY is published five times a year: March, May, August, October and December. *Editorial and Business Address:* Box 46, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4. *Subscription Rates:* \$6.00 a year; \$1.25 single copy. B. DeBoer, 102 Beverly Road, Bloomfield, N. J., distributor to the retail trade. Second-class postage paid at Philadelphia, Pa. Copyright 1961, Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania.

American Quarterly

The aim of AMERICAN QUARTERLY is to aid in giving a sense of direction to studies in the culture of the United States, past and present. Editors and contributors therefore concern themselves not only with the areas of American life which they know best but with the relation of those areas to the entire American scene and to world society.

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EARL H. ROVIT
University of Louisville

American Literature and “The American Experience”

CONFRONTED BY SUCH DIVERSE WORKS AS *The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin Defended*, *The Declaration of Independence* and *Moby-Dick*, the student of American letters may well despair of discovering a cultural frame of reference which can be employed as an over-all harmonizing pattern. The great differences in genre and substance among the major American literary documents of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries make it difficult to perceive that each of these works is representative of the same culture; indeed, such variety almost suggests an absence of any underlying cultural unity at all. Because of this variety (ranging from Edward Taylor's *Meditations* to *The Education of Henry Adams*), it may be useful to resort to an interpretation of “the American experience,” as an index to what American culture may be, in the hopes that this inquiry may result in at least a working method of resolving these difficulties. I do not believe that a precise definition of “the American experience” is possible (or even desirable), but the concept which the phrase vaguely denotes is one which may be helpful in illuminating our individual artistic products, as well as in establishing some meaningful connections between them.

Even if we allow for the possibility that there may be not one, but many “American experiences,” I think that we can safely assume that these experiences must be different from the “European experience” of remaining in the Old World. “Experience,” after all, denotes a specific interrelationship between the experiencer and that which is experienced. A change in one will result in a qualitative change in the other; that is to say, man is both the creator and the creation of his own experiences.

And further, since we assume that men are more *like* than *unlike* one another, there is probably a basic human experience—a human condition—which is roughly similar for all men throughout all time. As T. S. Eliot's Sweeney so succinctly expresses it:

Birth, and copulation, and death.
That's all, that's all, that's all,
Birth, and copulation, and death.

And the delineations of this human condition—this most basic and universal experience—we find most luminously expressed in man's grandest myths.

On the other hand, there is another kind of experience—more peripheral, more superficial and provincial if you like, but also more obviously influential on the surface appearances of man's expression of himself. This is the kind of immediate environmental influence, in opposition to which, and in cooperation with which, basic universal man grows into his differentiating particularity. It is this kind of experience that we refer to when we describe what we mean by a "Bostonian," a "Virginian," an "American." And the American experience possessed, at least as one of its major determining ingredients, an inevitable effect of thrusting man into temporal and spatial isolation without a framework of tradition or society which could give him the security of self-definition.¹ The American has characteristically been alone—"the man against the sky"—fronting a wilderness with the force of his own personality, and even though the physical wilderness gradually succumbs to his efforts, the metaphysical wilderness remains. Since literature is one of the media which man has at his disposal to mirror himself forth in his universality

¹ The similarities and differences between my formulation of the essence of "the American experience" and other formulations may be judged from the following excerpts. R. W. B. Lewis in *The American Adam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955) describes "the image of a radically new personality, the hero of the new adventure: an individual emancipated from history, happily bereft of ancestry, untouched and undefiled by the usual inheritances of family and race; an individual standing alone, self-reliant and self-propelling, ready to confront whatever awaited him with the aid of his own unique and inherent resources." (p. 5)

Mr. Bewley (*The Eccentric Design*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1959) is closer to my formulation than Mr. Lewis, but he departs into socio-economic areas when he applies his thesis in the analysis of fiction: ". . . the absence of a traditional social medium in America compelled the original American artist to confront starkly his own emotional and spiritual needs which his art then became the means of comprehending and analysing." (p. 19)

My analysis frequently intersects with that of both the above differing mainly, I think, on the greater emphasis which I place on "the Pip experience" (chap. xciii, *Moby-Dick*).

and particularity; and since any literary tradition is the gradual accretion of those forms which most accurately embody the *particular* needs and impulses of the environment and time, American literature takes its true beginnings when Americans first attempt to formulate in words what they are.

We ought not to be too surprised then at the seemingly unliterary forms which our early mirror-projections, or definitions, assumed. Consider the difficulties of the Colonial American writer. He could and did respond to his British contemporaries—to Milton, Pope, Fielding, Goldsmith. But the aesthetic solutions of these British giants could hardly help him in his attempt to define himself. The British writer, from Shakespeare to Gilbert and Sullivan, had always known instinctively who he *was* when he announced that he was an Englishman. If he were also an artist of the highest order, he had an outside chance of discovering who he was on a more basic human level. The American, however, as eager and obliged as his British fellow to provide symbols of definition, lacked the formal surety of what he was *particularly*—did not know, that is, what it meant to be an American. And the major tradition, or culture, or system of accumulated social responses and connotations which was his inheritance, was an alien tradition—a tradition built up on the wrong side of the Atlantic. It was alien and patently false to the pulse of his most immediate experience.

All readers know that lakes, cities, flowers, birds, climates, social classes, connotations of a word like "home" are qualitatively different on both sides of the Atlantic. All readers know that there never was nor could be any place in America which could duplicate the *feeling* of Squire Allworthy's Somersetshire. We know that there must be centuries of living—centuries of growth and decay, civil war and amity, the slow accretion of social, political and ideological layers of being, before a London coffee-house society can come into energetic existence. The artist cannot create his own language in order to define himself; he can only employ the language that is given him, refining it and attempting to expose its most profound swell of cumulative meanings. If it is mature in its own right (that is, rich, various, lived-into and alive), and if he is successful in his integrity and his craft, his projected self-definition may also be a powerful definition of his culture. There are, alas, no English meadows in America, but it took the American artist almost two hundred years to learn that a literary tradition, fabricated out of centuries of English meadows and manners, would inevitably distort native American experience into a pathetic parody of a truly organic

employment of that tradition.² The American creative artist had to fashion his own peculiar form before he could be regarded with any seriousness.

Some pre-nineteenth-century Americans, however, quite successfully managed to create adequate forms for the symbolic embodiments of their experience. The impulse to artistic definition is too resolute an urge to be denied by the mere absence of an appropriate vehicle. From the publication of John Smith's *A True Relation of . . . Virginia* (1608) to David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*, American literature has witnessed innumerable autobiographies, diaries, songs of myself—social analyses, histories, *U.S.A.*'s. In a sense the attempted self and culture-definitions of our American writers comprise the totality of American literature. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some American thinkers instinctively learned to liberate their self-images from the warping forms of the Old World. In such documents as Edwards' mature philosophy, Franklin's *Autobiography*, *The Federalist* papers, these authors discovered a freedom from the distortion of a cumulative past, and were able to cast their metaphors of experience experimentally. Like the British artist they are trying to answer the universal question "Who am I?" But they are also attempting an answer to the particular question "Who am I—a unique personality in a unique cultural situation—an American?"

Let us examine for a moment one of the most famous passages from Jonathan Edwards' *Personal Narrative*, in which he is reminiscently attempting to describe the effects of his miraculous conversion:

My mind was greatly fixed on divine things; almost perpetually in the contemplation of them. I spent most of my time in thinking of divine things, year after year; often walking alone in the woods, and solitary places, for meditation, soliloquy, and prayer, and converse with God; and it was always my manner, at such times, to sing forth my contemplations. I was almost constantly in ejaculatory prayer, wherever I was. Prayer seemed to be natural to me, as the breath by which the inward burnings of my heart had vent.

The image which Edwards casts here seems to me to be the seminal image of American literature, repeated over and over again in richly in-

² In all fairness, I should point out that the American artist ought neither to be blamed nor condescended to. The Connecticut Wits, the Knickerbocker school and the innumerable poetasters of the eighteenth century served a necessary function, if only in preparing the ground for what was to follow.

numerable ways.³ It is the man against the sky, the lone figure in an infinite cosmos, trying either to come to terms with the cosmos or to force the cosmos to come to terms with him. It subsumes the isolated figures in our literature—Natty Bumppo, A. Gordon Pym, Goodman Brown, Ahab, Henry and Nick Adams, Joe Christmas—whose lives are hurled like eccentric comets through the vast reaches of space which American literature projects. And as Edwards passionately demonstrates, for isolated man set in an immeasurable infinity, the only possible expression is prayerful communion, or its antithesis, a curse. Prayers and curses, celebrations of self and life and imprecations on self and life, an Emersonian reverence and an Ahabian blasphemy—these are the two poles of the single axis which can connect the lone soul in the center of the universe to the peripheries of the infinite.

For the peculiar tentativeness and fluidity which have characterized the successive growths of American society have imposed a strange shape on the forms of American literature. Self-definition in a society where people cannot define themselves in reference to other people has meant that our literary self-definitions leap from the introspective "I" in its relation to itself to the expansive "I" in its relation to Nature or God or some unnameable beyond even God.⁴ Thus, as H. B. Parkes points out, in Edwards' philosophical system, "The human will pitted against the environment, not the will at war with itself, was the underlying reality. And man turned to God not so much to be healed of an inner disharmony as to be assured of omnipotence."⁵ Edwards' mature phi-

³ It is instructive here to compare Edwards' notation with almost any passage from *Leaves of Grass* and the following from T. S. Eliot's "The Dry Salvages":

But to apprehend
The point of intersection of the timeless
With time, is an occupation for the saint—
No occupation either, but something given
And taken, in a lifetime's death in love,
Ardour and selflessness and self-surrender.
For most of us, there is only the unattended
Moment, the moment in and out of time,
The distraction fit, lost in a shaft of sunlight,
The wild thyme unseen, or the winter lightning
Or the waterfall, or music heard so deeply
That it is not heard at all, but you are the music
While the music lasts. These are only hints and guesses,
Hints followed by guesses; and the rest
Is prayer, observance, discipline, thought and action.

⁴ There is, of course, an aspect of more traditional social definition running through the novels of Cooper, James and even Melville and Hawthorne; I myself judge this achievement to be aesthetically unsuccessful. It is the unsocial definition that elevates these authors, I believe, above the honest efforts of William Dean Howells' social analyses. See Bewley's *The Eccentric Design* for the contrary view.

⁵ Parkes, *The American Experience* (New York, 1955), p. 79.

losophy, then, can be viewed as an attempt to fill up all the vacant spaces between the lone center figure of man and the outermost edges of God, so that the definition of self becomes an identification with God.⁶

In the political spheres of definition, the effects of self-realization inherent in Edwards' system are paralleled by Franklin's humanitarianism and Jefferson's visions of democracy. In the great eighteenth-century debates which culminated in *The Declaration of Independence* and the establishment of *The Constitution*, after all the economic and historical factors are duly accredited with their respective influences, there still remains an enigmatic portion of America's political definition of itself unaccounted for. And this is the cause of that peculiar urgency which moved men to take upon themselves the task of framing a world around them. We are so accustomed to the familiar fact that the American colonies *did* struggle for independence and *did* succeed in forming a union, that it is difficult for us to imagine that any other result could have occurred. And yet, in spite of the imposing list of grievances which Jefferson sets down in *The Declaration*, and in spite of our cynical twentieth-century understanding of the economic forces which twist ideals to their own ends, it yet seems to me that no single grievance or cause, and no collective combination of causes are amply sufficient to explain why it was inevitable that the Americans were forced to define themselves *nationally* in their own terms.⁷ It may be possible that for a fuller explanation we might resort also to an appraisement of the metaphysically isolating quality of the American experience and its accompanying demand for *communion* or *union*. The vacancy at the core demands fulfillment and the lonely spaces beyond the consciousness demand expansive wholeness.

The same urgent theme informs the nineteenth century, but the creative artist becomes confident and proficient enough in his craft to take over the burdens of self-definition and form-creation. Beginning with the Leatherstocking Tales of Cooper and the tortured Gothic stories of Poe, burgeoning explosively with the masterpieces of the American

⁶ The following enigmatic quatrain of Emily Dickinson seems to reinforce this image in an interesting way:

Circumference, thou bride of awe,
Possessing, thou shalt be
Possessed by every hallowed knight
That dares to covet thee.

⁷ I might also tentatively suggest that the same irrational demand for unity was an operative factor in the basically illogical refusal in 1861 even to consider the possibilities of allowing the South to secede. It may even be possible that the often-noted quality of American "gregariousness" is a manifestation of this same sense of metaphysical isolation at work.

Renaissance, and continuing through the works of Emily Dickinson, Mark Twain, Henry James and Henry Adams, the American writer characteristically invents or discovers his own peculiar symbolic manner of expressing his projections of, or solutions to, his overweening needs for self-definition. He is mercilessly impelled by this inner demand for definition. "For well dear brother I know / If thou wast not granted to sing thou would'st surely die." In his intense sensitivity to the agonies of the isolation which is his American birthright, he knows that he must anchor himself to *something* metaphorically, or else completely surrender himself to chaos—an alternative which is but another descriptive phrase for metaphysical non-being.⁸ The symbols of these definitions—the actual literary forms which tortuously found shape under the incredible pressures of self-survival—are necessarily grotesque, subjective, untraditional and essentially unique each to itself. If there is—or was—a European "tradition" of the novel, of the essay, of poetry, then only the second-rate in nineteenth-century American literature can qualify for artistic membership in "the tradition." The first-rate literary documents must each be approached in terms of its own laws or be sadly misread.

Richard Chase has recently argued that the sustaining tradition of American fiction is one of "romances" rather than novels.⁹ This implies that *The Scarlet Letter*, *Moby-Dick*, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and *The Portrait of a Lady* are poetic definitions of ambiguous subjective experience, rather than analyses of manners and society within a frame of agreed-upon standards. The European novel, with certain exceptions like *Wuthering Heights* and *Tristram Shandy*, made its great achievements in its analyses of manners and society. It was the triumphant product of a social situation in which people could define themselves in reference to other people, and novelists could embody their self-definitions in realistic fiction. The American novel, on the other hand, is characteristically abstract rather than concrete, symbolic rather than realistic, driven as much by passion as by intelligence. The great American novels, or "romances," may best be regarded as dynamic complicated metaphors—representative, each of them, to the tense conflict that each artist aesthetically resolved in his individual quest for self-definition.

In order more clearly to observe this quest at work, we might briefly note one of the characteristic structural devices which evolved in many

⁸ Compare with the following from Emily Dickinson's letter to T. W. Higginson (April 26, 1862): "I had a terror since September, I could tell to none; and so I sing, as the boy does of the burying ground, because I am afraid."

⁹ *The American Novel and Its Tradition* (New York, 1957).

works of American fiction as a partial *formal* technique of dealing with the demands of defining—that is, integrating—the metaphysically isolate. Fiction is, after all, a narrative form; it tells a story. The problem of relating the "I" to the infinite depths of itself, and, simultaneously, to the infinite heights of the cosmos are problems most naturally susceptible to the structure and style of lyric poetry ("I celebrate myself, and sing myself"). The American fiction writer was forced to invent some kind of dramatic structure in which his self-definition could be narrated *in time*. His ingenious invention—ingenious because it has either directly influenced or coincidentally antedated the dominant mode of contemporary European fiction—was what we might call "the epistemological story"—a narrative form in which the protagonist is "the learner," and the dramatic action is the process through which he learns.

In effect this gradually splits the traditional protagonist into two characters; the single hero of thought-and-action becomes double: an observing man of thought and an active participant in life. It is instructive to measure the progress of this structural evolution from the tales of Poe where, as in "The Fall of the House of Usher," the narrator is all but obliterated by the histrionic aura of Roderick, through the experiments of Hawthorne and Melville, to the polished structural subtleties of Henry James. In the Coverdale-Hollingsworth and Ishmael-Ahab cleavages, the balance between the two parts of each pair is rather tenuously maintained by a strict artistic control. Both authors quite obviously identify strongly with their "observing" characters and expect their readers to do so as well. The ultimate "meanings" of both books are resolved in the ambiguous lessons which the "learner" learns, and which the sympathetically involved reader must interpret. By the time this form goes through the refining hands of Henry James, as is most simply seen in "The Beast in the Jungle" and "The Jolly Corner," the double-protagonist has become one again—an observer whose activation is the observance of himself.¹⁰

For the purposes of our discussion, the functional affinities which this structure offered as an artistic solution of self-definition cannot be overstated. The fictional framework which placed an involved narrator *within* the narration gave the artist a psychic and ironic distance from himself which allowed him to play freely with forces and meanings that would otherwise have been paralyzing. Although he could and usually did sympathize with his narrator, or "reflecting consciousness," he could

¹⁰ A variation on this structure is the use of a first-person narration, or reflecting consciousness, without allowing the "observing" character to be *aware* of the significance of his experiences. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is a good example.

also stand outside that consciousness, weighing and evaluating its actions objectively. He managed, in other words, to create a wholly composed world *in which he both did and did not exist*—he the impotent speck in infinity and he the omnipotent creator of infinity. And in the typical action of the “epistemological novel,” *Moby-Dick* for instance, the reflecting consciousness is led to self- and cosmic-knowledge even while the creator of the symbolic structure achieves a satisfying self-definition as his immense symbol is rounded to perfection. In Edwards and Whitman we see that one path to metaphysical integration can be found in communion; here we see that another path to integration—and perhaps only the words are different—is in knowledge. And for a moment the irreconcilable distinctions between the plights and solutions of Jonathan Edwards and Herman Melville melt away to nothing.

Similarly, the best nineteenth-century American poetry fashioned its unique forms in response to the energies of “the metre-making argument” which drove the poet on to express and create himself in his metaphors. The radical epic form of *Leaves of Grass*, although imitated since by countless successors, is still Walt Whitman’s. Emily Dickinson’s acid etchings in moral definition are uniquely her own. And the forms of our other great works—Emerson’s oral essays, *Walden*, *The Education of Henry Adams*—are ultimately uncategorizable in any traditional genre. The nineteenth-century American artist had no other recourse than to find—or rather, to create—his own functional manner—not out of eccentricity (although this may occasionally be a minor factor), but out of a concern with his own unstable identification in a fluid America where culture-definition had not coagulated sufficiently to be manifested in the *mores* of society and formulated in a literary tradition.

With the closing of the frontier in the late nineteenth century, with the gradual cessation of large-scale immigration in the early twentieth century, and with the steady establishment of a technologically standardized pattern of life, we might expect that American literature would have stabilized into a steady, supporting “tradition”—a tradition which would reflect the coalescence of generally accepted social values in terms of which the individual American could “know” himself. Indeed, there are signs that would seem to point to precisely that happening.¹¹ And, paradoxically enough, if America had been able to maintain an impos-

¹¹ It seems to me that the influence of “The Genteel Tradition” in the late nineteenth century, culminating in such figures as Howells, William Vaughn Moody, O. Henry, Booth Tarkington and Edith Wharton is an indication of a stabilization of forms. Also I think that the Crane-Norris-Dreiser modes of naturalistic fiction reflected a faith in objective social reality, which is nowhere else evident in American literature.

sible absolute isolation from the rest of the world, perhaps her struggles with the persistent problems of metaphysical isolation might have been concluded. But, in various ways which have become very familiar to us, the European mind, the enviable symbol of tradition, security, culture and wholeness, disinherited itself.¹² And in its disinheritance of the standard unshakeable values which Western man had taken for granted since the Renaissance—values which are negatively suggested by a recital of names like Marx, Darwin, Freud, Nietzsche, Einstein—the American mind, on the verge of forming itself into a collective entity, was shivered back into dissociation. The individual's sense of metaphysical isolation—nurtured by the immigrational experience, the sundering of familial and national ties and the awesome challenge of a physical and social wilderness—returned in force to harass and flaunt our modern needs for self-definition.

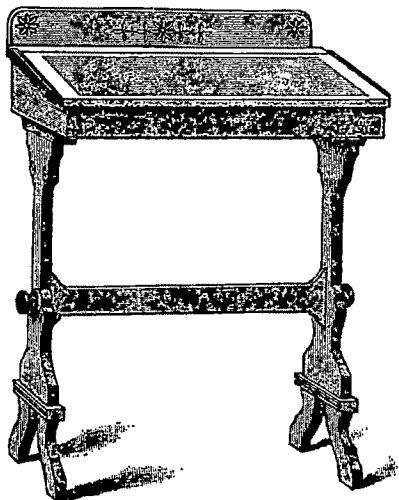
And yet there is a sense in which the American artist and thinker is better qualified to face the stresses of our modern condition—the impossible demands which contemporary politics, science, philosophy and art impose upon the twentieth-century mind and imagination—than is his European contemporary. For once the American possesses a "usable past" at a time when the European's past serves him only as an additional burden of despair; for once the American has a "tradition," albeit a tradition of uniqueness, from which to find strength and sustenance in the perils of his self-definition. The heralded American "innocence" becomes in this context a potentially poised "experience" in dealing with the necessity of finding a fixed pole between one's self and the shifting unknown; it is the European "experience" which now wears the form of deeply outraged innocence.¹³

It seems to me that this view is substantiated by the best creations of twentieth-century American literature—by the Nick Adams stories, *The Waste Land*, *The Bridge*, the dense Yoknapatawpha County legends, the hard-cored poems of Robert Frost, *The Man with the Blue Guitar*. The American writer has taken over from his forebears the task of creating adequate symbols of self-knowledge at a time when both "self" and "knowledge" are highly problematical areas of inquiry. However, from the point of view which I have tried to present, it has always been

¹² The story has been recounted a multitude of times; for a particularly lucid and passionate account, see Erich Heller, *The Disinherited Mind* (New York, 1959).

¹³ What I am suggesting is that William Dean Howells is still correct concerning the relative robustness of the American spirit as compared to the European. Our prime specimen of broken-spiritedness is Hart Crane and it is difficult to connect his psychic ruin with modern intellectual history. If we compare him with Nietzsche, for example, the differing cultural sensitivities should become clear.

thus in the inchoate ferment of American life, and the history of our society has been recorded in the successive steps which Americans have taken—tentatively, precariously, imaginatively—to impose some order on the chaos within and without. Thus in the modern world, where all men are fronted with the experience of absolute loneliness and values in flux, the American artist may hope to find in his tradition courage to discover himself and inspiration to project that discovery in the metaphors of his own experience.



MORRELL HEALD
Case Institute of Technology

Business Thought in the Twenties: Social Responsibility

MUCH OF THE APPEAL WHICH THE DECADE OF THE 1920'S EXERTS FOR AMERICANS stems from its dramatic location in time. An era of rapid material progress and intriguing social high jinks stands in sharp contrast to the earnest reformism of the Progressive years and the desperate, but exhilarating, salvage effort of the New Deal. We have learned a great deal, to be sure, from thoughtful contrasts of the spirit and achievements of the twenties with other periods of our recent history. Now, new perspectives on this era are emerging. Scholars are pursuing the influences and remnants of Progressivism ever further into the postwar years.¹ Studies of the age of Franklin D. Roosevelt have shown how much its origins, its philosophy and its measures derive from the period presided over by Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. We are coming to see the twenties not alone as an era of rampant materialism, reaction and individualism but as a troubled decade in which old and new were inextricably intermingled and confronted. It was a time of deep uncertainty and conflict: of faltering efforts to face—or sometimes to avoid—the fact of change. It was an age, as we have come to understand, not so very different from our own.

Behind the bright façade of "normalcy" some perplexed Americans were awakening to a realization that normalcy would not return. Indeed, the term was peculiarly ill-fitted to years so characterized by sweeping economic and social change. Only by a desperate effort of will could the values and virtues of the old order be made to appear fully adequate for postwar America. Increasingly evident imbalances of urban industrial

¹ Arthur S. Link, "What Happened to the Progressive Movement in the 1920's?" *American Historical Review*, LXIV (July, 1959), 833-51. Research for this paper has been made possible in part by the Research Fund of Case Institute of Technology.

life demanded attention and provoked thought. Significant efforts to adapt existing institutions to new and pressing needs were undertaken even within the business community itself, that lofty and apparently impregnable citadel of the older values and source of so much that was calling them into question. For example, a broadening concept of the social role of corporate enterprise had appeared even before the war; but the twenties produced a more self-conscious and persistent concern with this question on the part of business leadership, as well as a notion of managerial trusteeship which has become a favorite theme in recent business literature.² No clearly-formulated doctrine of social responsibility had emerged by the end of the decade, if, indeed, one exists today. Nevertheless, men such as Gerard Swope and E. A. Filene were striving for a new understanding of business institutional relationships in a mass production economy. The forces underlying their search were diverse. Taken together, they included some of the most basic social tendencies of a dynamic, divided America.

Prominent among them was a spirit of idealism and sacrifice in the common interest which had been aroused and only partially satisfied by the war. Without recognition of the influence of this sentiment, its frustration and distortions in the course of the decade, no understanding of the twenties is complete. Its impact on business thought can be traced in the record of the term, "service." Charles Cason, vice-president of the Chemical National Bank of New York struck a note echoed in innumerable business editorials, speeches, articles and advertisements:

"Today, there is a new point of view. We know that real success in business is not attained at the expense of others. Business can succeed only in the long run by acquiring and holding the good will of the people. To do this, it is necessary to render honest, intelligent service at a fair price . . . The best upper class men in business are really genuine in their belief in it [service] and are consistent in its practice. Most of them would not consider a policy which enriched them or their company and was at the same time against the public interest."³

² Morrell Heald, "Management's Responsibility to Society: The Growth of an Idea," *Business History Review*, XXXI (Winter, 1957), 375-79.

³ *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, CXXV (November 12, 1927), 2625-26. See also: *Nation's Business*, XII (June, 1924), 16; XIII (January, 1925), 18-20; XV (March, 1927), 95-96; XV (May, 1927), 15 ff.; *World's Work*, LIII (March, 1927), 556-61; United States Chamber of Commerce, *Report of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting . . .* (1925), pp. 16-17. Compare James Warren Prothro, *The Dollar Decade, Business Ideas in the 1920's* (Baton Rouge, La., 1954), pp. 46, 54-59, *passim*. The influence of wartime idealism on the formulation of the business concept of service in the twenties can be traced in the following: George W. Perkins, "We Are as Unprepared for Peace as We Are for War" (New York, n.d. [1915], p. 21; John D. Rockefeller, Jr., *The Personal Relation in Industry* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1923), pp. 11-13, 21, 83,

Others—clergymen, journalists, politicians—joined in proclaiming “service” to be the chief aim and justification of American business. Henry Ford asserted that, “Service as a basis for profit-making is coming to be recognized as the true motive for creative industry.”⁴ Probably no single motto or slogan exercised more appeal within and beyond the business community. For many the service motif helped justify and reconcile the peacetime pursuit of profit with the war-awakened sense of community, although as time passed some prophets and practitioners of service seemed to find it more attractive as a sales slogan than as a standard for practical policy-making.⁵ Still, whatever their source, the many changes rung upon the theme kept the notion of public service in the forefront of business thinking.

If the service ideal came to be seized upon and exploited chiefly for propaganda purposes, it could hardly have escaped the consequences of management's awakening interest in the cultivation of friendly and favorable public opinion. Like so much that attracted notice in the twenties, the public relations movement had its origins in the prewar era. Now it found an eager audience and ready customers among the executives of large corporations. The reasons for this interest are complex and only some of the major factors can be noted here. Although the American public was generally complacent and uncritical, the rise of the Soviet state was an ominous portent. At home, the Red Scare and the obvious disenchantment of some writers and intellectuals were hardly calculated to promote peace of mind in conservative circles. The irreverent image of businessmen as Babbitts rankled more than many were willing to admit. Although the Federal government was in friendly hands, the expansion of its functions continued; and state governments increased their expenditures even more rapidly. Underlying these factors and of even greater immediacy was recognition that the spread of mass production and economic concentration made business more than ever dependent on a favorable public image of its institutions and its products. Often managers tended to consider good public relations simply in terms of support and acceptance for their policies; but

116, *passim*; U. S. Chamber of Commerce, *Report of the Seventh Annual Meeting . . .* (1919), p. 45; Lucius E. Wilson, *Community Leadership, The New Profession* (New York, 1919), pp. 63-66; *Forbes Magazine*, VI (May 1, 1920), 51; B. C. Forbes, *Finance, Business and the Business of Life* (New York, 1915), *passim*.

⁴ F. M. Feiker, “The Profession of Commerce in the Making,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CI (May, 1922), 203-7; Henry Ford in co-operation with Samuel Crowther, *My Life and Work* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1922), p. 20.

⁵ William Nelson Taft, “Shouting ‘Service’ as a Battle Cry,” *Nation’s Business*, XIII (April, 1925), 37-39. See also XIV (April, 1926), 104 and XIV (October, 1926), 120.

some acknowledged that public approval must be earned, not simply manipulated. Walter S. Gifford, for example, wrote,

"... not only our stockholders, but the public generally, are entitled to know how we are carrying on our stewardship. . . . It is our further purpose to conduct the affairs of the Bell System in accordance with American ideals and traditions, so that it may continue to merit the confidence of the people of the country."⁶

Mass production and the centralization of decision-making through the growth of corporations, holding companies and trade associations were among the most highly visible economic developments of the 1920's. Less immediately obvious was the threat these tendencies posed for traditional values and practices. Business executives, close to powerful sources of change, were sometimes more perceptive than others in sensing their implications. ". . . The machinery of modern business does make the whole world one, . . . we are mutually dependent and must, if we are to give expression to our very will to live, go in with all our heart for mutual service," wrote E. A. Filene, a point of view other businessmen found increasingly relevant to problems of sales, capital and credit, as well as to industrial and community relations.⁷ As J. H. Tregoe, Secretary-Treasurer of the National Association of Credit Men, put it in 1922:

⁶ Quoted in Arthur Pound, *The Telephone Idea* (New York: Greenberg, 1926), n., p. 21. Business leaders, of course, had no intention of abdicating all management's prerogatives in order to court public favor. See Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., "Modern Ideals of Business," *World's Work*, LII (September, 1926), 694-97; *Forbes Magazine*, XIV (May 10, 1924), 178; Samuel Insull, *Public Utilities in Modern Life* (Chicago, 1924), p. 262. Thomas C. Cochran, *The American Business System* (Cambridge, 1957), p. 155, has held that businessmen conceived of public relations in the twenties as consisting primarily in the dissemination of favorable publicity and in silencing critics. He has suggested that the concept of public relations as a "two-way street" did not win acceptance until later. This is largely true; but it should not obscure the fact that many business spokesmen of the period said that their companies were trying to deserve the confidence they desired. See Sloan, *World's Work*, LII, 694-97; *Forbes Magazine*, XIV (May 24, 1924), 215; Edwin B. Parker, "The Fifteen Commandments of Business," *Nation's Business*, XII (June, 1924), 16; David Loth, *Swope of G. E.* (New York, 1958), pp. 129-32. For statements revealing reasons for the growing interest in public relations, see S. T. Scofield, "Business is Getting Public," *Advertising and Selling*, X (February 22, 1928), 28 ff.; *Forbes Magazine*, III (February 8, 1919), 771; VI (October 2, 1920), 456; XIV (May 24, 1924), 218; XIV (June 21, 1924), 367, and *passim.*; *Nation's Business*, XV (March, 1924), 10, 95-96, and *passim.*; U. S. Chamber of Commerce, *Report of the Twelfth Annual Meeting . . .* (1924), p. 19, *Report of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting . . .* (1928), p. 43; N. R. Danielian, *A. T. and T.; The Story of Industrial Conquest* (New York, 1939), pp. 285-86; John A. R. Pimlott, *Public Relations and American Democracy* (Princeton, 1951), p. 235.

⁷ E. A. Filene, *Successful Living in the Machine Age* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1931), pp. 80-81.

With the geographical separation of seller and buyer that followed this large-scale manufacture and large-scale distribution, commerce done on the principle of caveat emptor was on a precarious basis. Selling and buying needed a confidence and warmth which the principle of caveat emptor did not supply. Goods could not move freely if the buyer had continually "to beware." The compulsion was laid on the seller to make his goods of such quality as to remove the suspicion of the buyer and to insure his confidence in the goods.⁸

Managers often acknowledged that their growing interest in harmonious relations with employees, stockholders, customers and the public resulted quite as much from the exigencies of profit under changing economic conditions as from moral or social concerns.

It was, perhaps, in their altered relationship to the stockholders whose properties they managed that corporation managers faced most directly the broad implications of institutional change. As stock ownership became more widespread, management found itself increasingly free to set its own policies and define its own responsibilities. Executives of large corporations spoke deferentially of obligations to their employers, but already stockholders were coming to be considered as simply one among a variety of interests and participants in the enterprise whose claims management must recognize and reconcile. Arthur Pound, describing the changing nature of this relationship from the perspective of 1936, wrote,

The American way is to pay the stockholder well, to treat him honestly and gently, but to keep him in his place, so that he has neither the desire nor the extended opportunity to interfere with operations and policies.⁹

Owen D. Young, whose career with General Electric coincided with and helped to clarify the shift in corporate leadership and responsibility, saw the issues it presented. Young acknowledged the ambiguities of policy-

⁸ J. H. Tregoe, "Canons of Commercial Ethics," *Annals . . . CI* (May, 1922), 208. See also, Mark Wiseman, "Why I Stay in Business," *Survey*, LXV (February 1, 1931), 469-72; E. A. Filene, "A Simple Code of Business Ethics," *Annals . . . CI* (May, 1922), 223-28; Arundel Cotter, *United States Steel, A Corporation with a Soul* (New York, 1921), pp. 185-96; John D. Rockefeller, Jr., *The Personal Relation in Industry*, p. 15.

⁹ Arthur Pound, *Industrial America, Its Way of Work and Thought* (Boston, 1936), pp. 16-17; *Nation's Business*, XVII (March, 1929), 11; David Loth, *Swope*, pp. 129 ff.; Owen D. Young, "Business—The Newest Profession," *Aera*, XVIII (October, 1927), 301-6; Arthur Pound, *The Telephone Idea*, p. 16; Whiting Williams, "Business Statesmanship, A New Force in Business," *Magazine of Business*, LVIII (April, 1929), 388 ff.; Ida M. Tarbell, *Owen D. Young, a New Type of Industrial Leader* (New York, 1932), p. 233; *Iron Age*, CXVII (February 25, 1926), 523-24; Sloan, *World's Work*, LII, 694-98.

making in an institution in which ownership was divorced from direct participation. Only managers could be held responsible for business policies, he stated,

. . . it makes a great difference in my attitude toward my job as an executive officer of the General Electric Company whether I am a trustee of an institution or an attorney for the investor. If I am a trustee of the institution, who are the beneficiaries of the trust? To whom do I owe my obligation?¹⁰

Young, as did other executives of the twenties, concluded that his obligation extended to include the workers, the customers and the general public. Management's task as trustee for these parties, he believed, involved maintenance of the good credit of the institution, provision of healthy working conditions and the production of a high-quality product, meeting the corporation's duties as a "good citizen." Thus, a counterpart of management's growing independence from owner domination was its recognition of the claims of other interest groups including that vague entity, the community at large.

The new generation of independent corporate managers which came to power and prominence in the 1920's was more than ever before a professional group. Many of its members had received advanced training in American universities and colleges. Young and Gary were lawyers, although Gary represented in most respects an earlier phase in the evolution of management. Swope and Sloan were engineers. Among such men, owner-entrepreneur Henry Ford was becoming an anachronism despite the impetus he had given to the remodeling of the industrial order. The influence of advanced professional training on business executives deserves closer analysis than it has so far received. Arthur Pound's claim that ". . . the legal influence introduced the idea of justice, the habit of compromise, and the institutional idea into American industry" was seconded by businessmen who asserted that the educational backgrounds of the newer corporate managers tended to produce a broader understanding of the ramifications and social relations of their companies.¹¹ It seems likely that training in other professions than the law

¹⁰ *Nation's Business*, XVII (March, 1929), 161-64; Whiting Williams, "What Makes Business an Institution," *Magazine of Business*, LV (June, 1929), 658-59; John H. Sears, *The New Place of the Stockholder* (New York, 1929), pp. 26-27.

¹¹ Pound, *Industrial America*, pp. 10-13; Tarbell, *Owen D. Young*, pp. 62, 92-94; Loth, *Swope*, p. 21, 129 ff.; Tom M. Girdler, in collaboration with Boyden Sparks, *Boots-Straps, The Autobiography of Tom M. Girdler* (New York, 1943), p. 158; Owen D. Young, *Aera*, XVIII, 301-6; Whiting Williams, *Magazine of Business*, LV, 388-90; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, CXXV, 2625-26.

supported and strengthened this shift in attitudes. The advantages of such preparation were apparent to the growing number of men who attended business and professional schools. Additional evidence that management approved such training can be found in the burgeoning of night school, summer school and other special courses provided by the colleges with the encouragement and sometimes the direct support of business. Through these programs young businessmen came into contact with psychology and sociology, as well as more orthodox business and economics subjects. Northwestern University, for example, offered under the sponsorship of the Chamber of Commerce and the American Trade Association Executives a series of two-week summer sessions which included courses on civic affairs and problems of the community. Business support for research, a growing practice at this time, reflected still further an awakening to the need for systematic study of social and economic problems.¹² A quite different, and highly informal, experience which surely influenced the thinking of business leaders was the fact that many had come to maturity during the Progressive period, with its critique of traditional business ethics and its drive for higher standards of public and private ethics. Both Gerard Swope and Walter Gifford, to cite an unusual example, had lived and worked with Jane Addams at Hull House. This was direct education, not easily forgotten.¹³

Emphasis on the role of ethics in business came also from a quite different direction. As part of the "self-regulation" movement led by trade associations and chambers of commerce, formulating and promulgating codes of ethics became one of the more popular business pastimes of the period. Serving to justify the elimination of "unfair" competition, it demonstrated the concern of an increasingly centralized economic system for careful cultivation of its public relations. Whether seriously intended and conscientiously practiced or not, these codes by their sheer numbers kept before the business community an ideal, however vague, of accountability to the public. As early as 1922, F. M. Feiker, vice president of the McGraw-Hill Company and an associate of Secretary of Commerce Hoover, argued on behalf of trade associations that, ". . . sooner or later such associations become professionally conscious . . . set up for each member standards of practice or codes of ethics which, broadly

¹² Dean W. Malott, "Business Advancing as a Profession," *Iron Trade Review*, LXXIV (June 12, 1924), 1564-65; Josiah H. Penniman, "Business and Higher Learning," *Nation's Business*, XIII (November, 1925), 56 ff.; *Nation's Business*, XIV (April, 1926), 58-60; Glenn Frank, "Needed: A New Man of Business," *Magazine of Business*, LII (November, 1927), 565-67; Rockefeller, *The Personal Relation in Industry*, p. 46.

¹³ Zona Gale, "Great Ladies of Chicago," *Survey*, LXVII (February 1, 1932), 482; Loth, *Swope*, pp. 21, 31-38, 48-51, *passim*.

speaking, constitute a great structure, with the service motive as the standard of conduct. . . ." ¹⁴ In 1925 the President of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce proudly reported that its statement of "Principles of Business Conduct," adopted the previous year, had been subscribed to by over seven hundred and fifty member organizations representing more than three hundred thousand businessmen. "I find," he complimented his constituents, "no such recognition of obligation to the public among the other blocs or factions in this country." ¹⁵

The new roles and responsibilities of corporate managers, as these men interpreted their own functions, were most fully summed up, perhaps, in the idea of trusteeship. The concept coupled with broad authority an ill-defined commitment to consideration of the public interest in the making of business policy. A typical formulation was that of the Chamber of Commerce Committee on Business Ethics:

The primary obligation of those who direct and manage a corporation is to its stockholders. Notwithstanding this, they act in a representative capacity, and in such a capacity owe obligations to others—to employees, to the public which they serve, and even to their competitors. . . .¹⁶

Gerard Swope, a notable advocate of this view of management's role, put it even more succinctly when he said, "Today a much higher proportion of corporate leaders realize their responsibilities as trustees of other people's money, their obligation of service to the public, and their duty to their employees." ¹⁷ While the spokesmen for this "managerial" view-

¹⁴ Feiker, *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CI, 203-7.

¹⁵ U. S. Chamber of Commerce, *Report of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting* . . . (1925), pp. 16-17. See also, *Nation's Business*, XII (June, 1924), 5, 7-9; *Forbes Magazine*, XXII (October 15, 1928), 60; U. S. Chamber of Commerce, *Report of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting* . . . (1928), p. 13.

¹⁶ Edwin B. Parker, "The Fifteen Commandments of Business," *Nation's Business*, XII (June, 1924), 16 ff. See also, *Nation's Business*, XVII (March, 1929), 9, 142-46; Insull, *Public Utilities* . . . , p. 262; Loth, *Swope*, p. 162; Pound, *Industrial America*, pp. 26-27, Tarbell, *Owen D. Young*, pp. 155-56, 232; E. H. Gary, "Principles and Policies of the United States Steel Corporation," n. p., n. d. (1921), pp. 5-6; *Forbes Magazine*, XIV (April 26, 1924), 113. Gary, more clearly than the others, strongly hinted at the right of management to exercise independent judgment as to what constituted the public interest. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., on the other hand, perhaps because he was less directly involved in the day-to-day problems of management himself, proposed "adequate representation of the four parties [capital, management, labor and the public] in the councils of industry." *The Personal Relation in Industry*, pp. 12-21. Sometimes "the public" was subdivided into two groups: consumers, and the community at large.

¹⁷ Gerard Swope, "What Big Business Owes to the Public," *World's Work*, LIII (March, 1927), 556-61.

point were chiefly representatives of the larger corporations, trade associations and chambers of commerce, their prestige and authority were greater than their numbers. Their statements set a standard with which the wider business community could hardly avoid comparing its policies.

To what extent were these concepts of social responsibility and trusteeship translated into actual practice by business firms during the 1920's? Their influence can be seen in a number of policies initiated at this time as well as in a new impetus or direction given to older practices. Especially noteworthy were developments in three areas; industrial relations, publicity and education, and corporate philanthropy. Of these, industrial relations attracted the widest attention. Company-sponsored unions, employee stock-ownership plans, industrial pension and welfare programs, while hardly new, experienced a sudden spurt of interest and support in management circles. By inference, at least, such programs conceded that the existing order did not adequately provide for the needs and desires of an industrial labor force. Many were based upon the paternalistic assumption that the employer knew what was best for his help. Yet the failures of "industrial democracy" or "welfare capitalism," 1920's style, need not blind us to their significance as steps toward recognition of management's stake in the security and satisfaction of the worker.¹⁸ More questionable and, ultimately, even less successful were the efforts of some business groups to promote what they considered to be a friendly climate of public opinion. Led especially by the utility companies, these propaganda ventures became involved, among other things, in efforts to silence criticisms of the business system in the press and the schools. In the long run, of course, they failed dismally. The depression revealed weaknesses in the system no propaganda campaign could conceal. Yet this movement, too, with all its shortcomings, was an important step in a new direction. Those who backed such campaigns recognized, in effect, the dependence of business upon public approval and support.¹⁹

The third, and in some ways the most fruitful, of the areas in which business executives explored the limits of their social obligation, was the donation of corporate funds to hospitals, community chests and

¹⁸ Tarbell, *Owen D. Young*, p. 150, 227, ff.; *Survey*, LXIV (July 15, 1930), 340; Beulah Amidon, "Ivorydale, A Payroll That Floats," *Survey*, LXIV (April 1, 1930), 18 ff.; Loth, *Swope*, pp. 153, 167-72.

¹⁹ Sloan, *World's Work*, LII, 694-96; Lucius E. Wilson, *Community Leadership, The New Profession* (New York, 1919), pp. 63-66; *Nation's Business*, XVII (August, 1929), 13; Danelian, *A. T. and T.*, pp. 284-92; *Forbes Magazine*, III (January 25, 1919), 724; XIV (May 24, 1924), 215, 218, 226; XIV (June 7, 1924), 310; XIV (June 21, 1924), 367; Loth, *Swope*, p. 134.

similar welfare agencies. Here there was no sudden, spectacular campaign, no flurry of interest or "all-out" drive. Rather, the record shows modest, but steadily increasing, support for philanthropic and welfare work. Even the depression, while it retarded the movement, did not destroy it. Only toward the end of the decade did thoughtful men begin to see that a transformation in the concept of the modern business corporation was involved. A paternal management interest in the order, stability and welfare of the communities from which it drew workers was, again, not new. In Pullman, Aliquippa, Gary and many other company towns employers, both for highly moral and severely practical reasons, had long recognized their stake in the social conditions surrounding their plants.²⁰ Had the postwar years seen only an expansion of these policies, they would have marked merely the unchecked growth of a benevolent business autocracy. But such was not the case. Simultaneously with the growth of management's sensitivity to social conditions had emerged a well-organized, professionally trained, and ably led social work movement. Increasingly united for fund-raising and the interpretation of community needs through the community chest movement, welfare work in the twenties was achieving a professional competence of its own. Community chests appealed to businessmen on grounds of efficiency and promised to relieve them from the necessity for evaluating the many appeals received from individual agencies. Chest leaders, too, were conscious of their stake in the interest and support of business. Managers found themselves serving in increasing numbers as board members or as active fund raisers for chest agencies. Indeed, the success of the community chest movement was, to a considerable degree, the result of collaboration between these two increasingly professionally-minded groups.²¹

²⁰ Of Aliquippa in 1914, Tom M. Girdler later wrote, ". . . I became an unofficial caliph, an American Haroun-al-Raschid obliged by my office in a big corporation to consider a whole community as my personal responsibility." *Bootsraps . . .*, pp. 165-66.

²¹ Pierce Williams and Frederick E. Croxton, *Corporate Contributions to Organized Community Welfare Services* (New York, 1930), pp. 56-93; F. Emerson Andrews, *Corporation Giving* (New York, 1952), pp. 15-39; "Multiplicity of Community Chest Appeals Source of Vexation to National Business Concerns," American Association for Community Organization, *Bulletin* #30, January, 1927; Paul A. Schoellkopf, "The Corporation and Its Community," *Survey*, LX (September 1, 1928), 540 ff.; Helen B. Leavens, "A Social Worker in Prosperity Land," *Survey*, LXI (March 15, 1929), 789-91; Arthur J. Todd, "Corporations as Givers," *Survey*, LXIV (August 15, 1930), 424-25; F. S. Tisdale, "Winning Ways of the Charity Fakers," *Nation's Business*, XIV (August, 1926), 26 ff.; XIV (February, 1926), 67. Extensive data on the interaction between business leadership and community chest officials can be found in the files of the United Community Funds and Councils of America, Inc., New York City, where the writer has had access to them through the courtesy of Mr. Ralph Blanchard, Executive Director, and Miss Fay Webb, Director of Reference Services. See especially "Big Business and Community Chests," Association of Community Chests and Councils,

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Statistics can indicate the dimensions, but scarcely the true significance, of this joint approach to problems of community welfare. Here business leaders were confronted with the consequences of industrialization as interpreted by independent experts. Here they could participate in an exchange of views and a definition of responsibilities which held the promise, at least, of a larger concept of community welfare and business contributions to it. Many difficult problems were involved. The right of corporate management to spend company funds for community purposes had to be clarified, a lengthy and laborious process in law and policy-making. In addition to the right, the advisability of making donations remained very much a question in the minds of many executives. Standards for measuring the extent of responsibility were unclear. The relationship of corporate gifts to the power of determining allocation of chest funds was in dispute. None of these issues was resolved by the end of the decade, nor, indeed, have some been settled today. Still, important beginnings were made. By 1928, business and community chest leaders at both the local and national levels were jointly striving for mutually acceptable solutions to these problems. In this context, the social responsibility of business enterprise was on the way to being recognized, not as an issue to be resolved by management alone, but as itself a community problem.

The emergence of the idea that corporate profits might properly be devoted to community welfare projects is difficult to reconcile with the notion of the twenties as a time when business with singleminded intensity pursued the almighty dollar. The sunny climate of prosperity undoubtedly encouraged experiments in corporate giving. In this sense corporate philanthropy may well have been an unrecognized stepbrother of the more frenzied and widely publicized speculative booms of the period. As our understanding of the decade deepens, however, the contribution of other factors mentioned here becomes more apparent. The ideal of service, the drive for public approbation and support, the consequences of mass production and large-scale organization, and the emergence of a professional management group of self-designated "trustees" all contributed impulses and opportunities for which corporate philanthropy provided convenient satisfactions. Concern for the social responsibilities of their enterprises was clearly more than a luxury item on the list of problems pondered by business executives. To be sure, the depression of 1921-23 squeezed much of the idealism out of the postwar

Minutes . . . I (April 10, 1928), 419; *Minutes . . . I* (January 12, 1925), 5; Mark M. Jones, "Corporate Contributions to Community Welfare Agencies" (New York, 1929), File Box 72: "Corporate Gifts—Tax Deduction."

concern for "service." Similarly, many of the hastily assembled, largely paternalistic employee welfare programs collapsed—victims of economic pressure and their own failure to meet the true needs of the worker. Much that was ill-conceived and partisan in the social policies of business failed to survive the even more severe test of 1929-33. On the whole, the programs that weathered the storm were those which met fundamental problems of economic security and social welfare in realistic, generally acceptable terms. In its efforts to evaluate its social role and responsibilities, business leadership learned most and achieved most when it worked *with*, rather than merely *for*, other interest groups.²²

The point to be noted, however, is that a variety of ideas and practices did survive. Some businessmen did sense the fact of change and the need to face new problems with new social techniques. Behind the optimism and confidence of the official organs of business opinion lurked a number of ill-defined but insistent issues: the meaning of the nationalization of economic power and social control, the social consequences of large-scale organization and the emergence of an apparently chronic problem of economic insecurity in a technically progressive, industrial society. If America was, as some sensed, in the process of a major social and economic upheaval, workable solutions for these problems must be found. The practice of corporate philanthropy as it developed during the twenties grew in part out of a desire to cope with, or to stave off, the consequences of social change dimly seen and imperfectly understood.

Yet corporate philanthropy by no means won unanimous approval even among "progressive" business leaders. One of the most thoughtful, E. A. Filene, sharply challenged the philosophy and practice of corporate giving, re-asserting in broadened terms the traditional justification of business enterprise. Donations to charity, Filene felt, indicated "often a supine acquiescence in the assumption that the poor are always going to be with us and that nothing can be done about it." The true responsibility of the businessman was not to alleviate poverty, but to abolish it. "It is my belief that business men can best serve the cause of social progress through activities in their own field—by advancing their own self-interest."²³ Henry Ford agreed. "It is easy to give; it is harder to

²² Beulah Amidon, *Survey*, 20; Tarbell, *Owen D. Young*, p. 224. It is interesting to find the president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce in his 1922 address stating, "What is not for the public good is not for the good of business," and emphasizing "the obvious fact that business alone cannot be the final judge of what is for the public good." U. S. Chamber of Commerce, *Report of the Tenth Annual Meeting* . . . (1922), pp. 7-8.

²³ E. A. Filene, "I Believe in Working with Others," *Nation's Business*, XVII (April, 1929), 179 ff. See also, *Successful Living in the Machine Age*, *passim.*; *Annals* . . . CI, p. 223-28; *Survey*, LXXIII (October, 1937), 318-19.

make giving unnecessary," he wrote. "I have no patience with professional charity or with any sort of commercialized humanitarianism. . . . Industry organized for service removes the need for philanthropy. Philanthropy, no matter how noble its motive, does not make for self-reliance. We must have self-reliance." ²⁴ In this view, economic self-interest remained the key to social welfare; but Filene was no simple conservative. Rather, he saw management's role as dynamic: the creation of an increasingly efficient and productive economy in the social interest. In contrast to Filene's view that business was most responsible when most intent on its own internal problems were the more sweeping, if not more ambitious, ideas of corporate responsibility this paper has summarized. As Henry D. Sharpe, president of Brown and Sharpe, expressed them, "Directors may think of themselves merely as trustees of property interests and ignore the social conditions of the community from which their corporation draws its labor and its patronage. Not at all in an invidious sense, this is a narrow concept of responsibility." ²⁵

The issue posed by these conflicting viewpoints has been clarified, if not resolved, by the passage of time. If profit alone does not define the limits of managerial responsibility, where is the line to be drawn? Or is management properly free to define and undertake obligations throughout the length and breadth of society, in education, the arts and politics no less than in community welfare? ²⁶ The legacy of business thought in the 1920's lies precisely in its recognition of the changing nature of

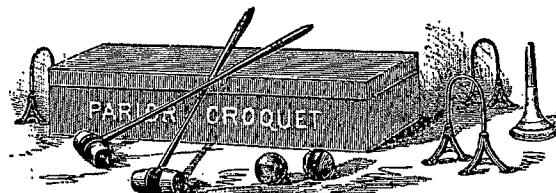
²⁴ Henry Ford, *My Life and Work*, pp. 206-10; see also *Fortune*, VII (June, 1933), 50 ff.

²⁵ Henry D. Sharpe, "What Business Owes the Town," *Nation's Business*, XVII (October, 1929), 47 ff.

²⁶ Suggestions as to the directions in which "broad construction" of the responsibility of business might lead can be found in Merwin K. Hart, "Next Jobs for Business Leadership," *Magazine of Business*, LV (January, 1929), 40 ff., and Julius H. Barnes, "Growing Responsibility of Business," *Nation's Business*, XVII (May, 1929), 15 ff. Both Hart and Barnes believed business leadership ready and able to resolve pressing national and international problems. It was Barnes's view that, ". . . if America translates into the conduct of world enterprise the ethics and standards of American business today it will more directly establish the welfare of uncounted millions than any other crusade in history." On the other hand, John Ihlder, of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, recognized the danger of business domination and the need for joint participation in social programs. "The Business Man's Responsibility," *Nation's Business*, XIII (November, 1925), 52 ff. For recent discussions of this issue, see Theodore Levitt, "The Dangers of Social Responsibility," *Harvard Business Review*, XXXVI (September-October, 1958), 41-50; O. A. Ohmann, "Search for a Managerial Philosophy," *Harvard Business Review*, XXXV (September-October, 1927), 41-51; Raymond Moley, "Good Gulf Citizenship," *Newsweek* (July 20, 1959), p. 100; Peter F. Drucker, "The Responsibilities of Management," *Harper's Magazine*, CCIX (November, 1954), 67-72; Edward S. Mason, "The Apologetics of 'Managerialism,'" *Journal of Business*, XXXI (January, 1958), 1-11.

corporate enterprise and its posing of a problem whose significance has become increasingly evident.

Business ideas about the social role and responsibility of corporate management, then, reflected the uncertainties of the times. In its mixture of old and new ideas, its simultaneous tendencies to conserve and to experiment, business thought was conflicting—and typical. Nowhere is the confusion and divergence of views more evident than in discussions of the issue of social responsibility. Certainly, the traditional belief that management's chief duty was to earn profits experienced no sudden eclipse. Yet, even its most ardent defenders laid increased stress on the social justification of profit as contributing to the welfare of the community at large. On the other hand, the conviction was spreading that management must think more than ever before of the social implications of its policies. Far from being completely immobilized in adulation of the status quo, business leadership was exploring new solutions for new, or recently recognized, problems. It was a period of trial and error. If the errors and shortcomings were numerous, the trials—the new ventures in business thought and practice—were of equal importance for the future of business and American society.



GALEN BROEKER
University of Tennessee

Jared Sparks, Robert Peel and the State Paper Office

JARED SPARKS, FIRST OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORIANS,¹ IS LITTLE consulted by his modern successors. His place in the annals of historiography rests rightly, not upon his sixty-odd volumes, long since superseded, but upon his pioneering insistence on the importance of consulting primary sources in writing history. In his studies of the Revolution, Sparks examined every available source in the United States, and then became the first American to search the archives of Britain and France for new materials on his subject. Thus it can be said that "the serious documentary study of American history begins with Jared Sparks."²

In his search for documents and his determination to base his writings upon primary sources, Sparks was part of the great tradition of nineteenth-century historiography. And the freedom from intellectual restraint combined with newly-developed critical methods, which made the nineteenth a golden century of historical scholarship, became really significant through a parallel liberalizing tendency in the regulating of access to the state archives of Europe. Gradually throughout the century, fewer and fewer government officials held to the old equation between state papers and state secrets. But in the 1820's, when Jared Sparks was combining the archives for information on the American Revolution, only the United States, France and Great Britain allowed relatively free access to their state collections. Even in these countries there were occasional reversions to an older attitude. It was more difficult to consult the French archives under Louis Napoleon than it had been under Louis Philippe. And in the England of 1828, Sparks was to find at least one member of

¹ See Michael Kraus, *The Writing of American History* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), pp. 108-14.

² G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: P. Smith, 1949), p. 402.

the government opposed to his examining the "controversial" North American correspondence in the State Paper Office. But through persistence and a stroke of great good luck, Sparks was able to thwart the application of "the mere rules of an office," which he denied "should be a bar to obtaining historical facts."³ His own successful assault on the "mere rules," newly created by Robert Peel, established a noteworthy precedent to be cited by those who believed that the search for historical truth should not be hampered by the nationality of the historian or official attitudes toward his subject. Sparks's efforts also involved him, quite unwittingly, in problems of quite another sort, for his request for access to the state papers aggravated the already tenuous internal relations of the British Cabinet in 1828 and caused at least momentary official consternation regarding the safety of the delicate balance of Anglo-American relations.

Both Sparks's initial failure and his final success are understandable only against the background of the near-absolute chaos of the official records of Britain at the time of his arrival in 1828. Nothing resembling a national archives was yet in existence. For centuries, the Courts of Law, the Public Departments and the Offices of the Secretaries of State had housed their papers in separate repositories, under the supervision of traditionally indifferent custodians. The accidental or deliberate loss or destruction of valuable documents was usual and caused little comment until early in the nineteenth century, when a number of parliamentary reports began to reveal this shocking state of affairs, paving the way for legislation that eventually established the justly famous Public Record Office. But in 1828, little progress had been made toward organizing and consolidating the repositories.⁴

Of primary interest to Sparks was the State Paper Office, established in 1578 to receive the papers accumulated by the Secretaries of State. By the closing years of the eighteenth century, most of the older secretarial offices had been abolished, and their papers had descended with their duties to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State for Home Affairs. In 1801, the newly created office of Secretary of State for War and Colonies (the Colonial Office) absorbed the duties and papers of a number of older offices, including the various military departments and part of the former Board of Trade and Plantations. The papers transferred to Colonial Office control joined those of the Foreign Office and the Home Office in the State Paper Office.

³ Herbert B. Adams, *The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1893), II, 63.

⁴ Great Britain, Public Record Office, *Guide to the Public Records: Part I, Introductory* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1949), pp. 1-12.

Conditions in the State Paper Office differed little from those in the other repositories. A Keeper of Papers was in charge, and several of the men in this office had attempted from time to time to introduce some degree of order into the collections, but the loss of documents continued well into the nineteenth century.⁵ Existing procedures were generally accumulations of precedent; there were few established regulations governing the papers. The Secretarial offices retained custody of the papers attached to their departments and could withdraw them, apparently without restriction on how they should be used.⁶ Thus for all practical purposes the State Paper Office was three separate repositories, linked together by the Keeper of Papers, who exercised a general superintendence of the state papers and was required to "obey all Secretaries of State."⁷ As for the use of the state papers by persons interested in research of a historical nature, no clearly defined rules existed, possibly because very few applications were received.⁸ Since the papers remained in the custody of the offices of origin, the Secretarial offices could make their papers available for scholarly investigation if they wished to do so. And at some undetermined date, perhaps as a matter of convenience, the practice had been introduced of referring those who wished to consult any of the state papers to the Home Secretary, who accepted or rejected the applications. Evidently this method of regulating access to the papers worked satisfactorily for quite some time.

No one was allowed to "browse" in the State Paper Office; instead the successful applicant was required to specify an area of interest, and was then furnished with the volumes in the series containing the information he sought.⁹ The few applicants were apparently men of stature in British intellectual circles, whose "respectability" was not challenged by the Secretaries, who continued to pay little attention to the State Paper Office. If Sparks had arrived in England six months earlier, he would have found this easy-going system still operating. But by early 1828, the Home Secretary, Robert Peel, had decided that the system must be amended. Peel was convinced that the State Paper Office contained "dangerous" documents in the various collections relating to North America, which had to be hidden from prying eyes. The use of the papers for literary or historical purposes had to be strictly limited, and the Home Secretary prepared to use his position to accomplish this end. Sparks of course

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶ See Robert Peel to Henry Hobhouse, May 11, 1828, Peel Papers, British Museum Additional Manuscripts, 40396.

⁷ Hobhouse to Peel, May 13, 1828, *ibid.*

⁸ At this time, there was very little interest in the more recent periods of English history, and therefore little interest in the contents of the State Paper Office.

⁹ Jared Sparks to Robert Hay, May 30, 1828, Peel Papers, 40397.

knew nothing of Peel's plans, for they had not been revealed. Thus the way was prepared for a clash between the New England historian and the future prime minister.

Peel's years of greatness as one of England's leading statesmen were still in the future, but even at this time, as Home Secretary and party leader in the House of Commons, he was a man of considerable importance. His political strengths and weaknesses have been variously assessed, but it is generally agreed that he was a first-rate administrator. Perhaps this talent alone would eventually have drawn his attention to the State Paper Office and its traditional disorder. But in 1828, Peel's newly aroused interest in this institution stemmed from other causes: the precarious condition of Anglo-American relations, and his belief that the state papers contained information which, if made known, might further complicate the issues between the two countries. The Oregon-Northeastern boundaries controversy had clouded relations between Great Britain and the United States for years. In 1826, Peel had commented, ". . . it is impossible not to feel some anxiety in contemplating our future relations to the United States [for there is] pretty good ground for dispute if either party is anxious for a quarrel."¹⁰ In 1827, while Peel was briefly out of office, relations between the two nations had taken a turn for the better when an agreement was reached to submit the Northeastern boundary question to arbitration. Furthermore, the Convention of 1818 had been renewed, continuing joint occupation of the Oregon country. Thus while the boundary controversies had not been solved, an atmosphere conducive to solution had been established. When Peel returned to the Home Office in January 1828, he was ready to contribute to maintaining this atmosphere by standing guard over the controversial documents in the State Paper Office.

A few months later, forced to defend his stand, he wrote, "I apprehend there are many documents contained in the one hundred volumes of American Correspondence relating to the Revolutionary War, which it would be much better not to disclose."¹¹ The reason was quite simple: "Their publication might possibly confirm and prolong existing animosities, and place the conduct of this Country in a very unfavorable light."¹² But the fact that the State Paper Office was actually three separate repositories, each controlled by a different Secretary of State, made the task of safeguarding the records difficult, particularly under existing circumstances. William Huskisson, the Colonial Secretary, and Lord Dudley, the Foreign Secretary, were new to their jobs, inexperienced in Secretarial

¹⁰ Peel to Henry Goulburn, July 22, 1826, *ibid.*, 40332.

¹¹ Peel to William Huskisson, May 7, 1828, *ibid.*, 40396.

¹² Peel to Hay, May 10, 1828, *ibid.*

office, and to some extent politically suspect, since they belonged to a faction of the Tory party viewed with disfavor by Peel and the Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington. The matter was further complicated by a private feud between Huskisson and Wellington. Apparently disturbed by the possibility that inexperienced Secretaries of State, now or in the future, might allow untrustworthy people to examine the papers belonging to their offices, Peel decided to strengthen the control of the Home Secretary over the State Paper Office.

But such a course of action presented serious problems. Ever mindful of his reputation for integrity, Peel undoubtedly wished to avoid the charge that he was trying to increase the power of his office at the expense of others. And his actions could serve to widen the breach between the Peel-Wellington and the Huskisson-Dudley factions in the Cabinet. It was probably with these considerations in mind that Peel determined on a somewhat devious method for gaining control over the state papers. Home Office jurisdiction over the papers had been gradually establishing itself for years, through the indifference of the other Secretaries and the consequent practice of allowing the Home Secretary to pass judgment on those wishing to consult the papers. It is axiomatic that what is customary may eventually acquire the force of law, and in 1828, Peel simply decided that precedent had given him the right to reorganize the State Paper Office regulations as he saw fit, without consulting Huskisson, Dudley or anyone else.

In January 1828, Peel acquired a valuable ally when Henry Hobhouse was appointed Keeper of Papers.¹³ Hobhouse had been Home Office Under-Secretary, and he was a staunch admirer of Peel; he could be relied on to support the ambitions of the Home Secretary. Hobhouse was soon convinced that the State Paper Office needed centralized control, and that this could "be best attained by confining to one office the task of giving access to the State Papers."¹⁴ Peel and Hobhouse together proceeded to reinterpret the system so that it would be impossible for controversial documents to be examined by researchers. Where it had been customary to require applicants to specify an area of interest, it was now decided that at least for the North American series, they must "specify the particular documents" they wished to consult.¹⁵ This practice would enable the staff of the State Paper Office to examine individual documents and withhold those deemed controversial; it would also make a serious investigation of the British side of the American Revolution

¹³ Henry Hobhouse, *The Diary of Henry Hobhouse (1820-1827)*, ed. Arthur Aspinall (London: Home and Van Thal, 1947), pp. v, 146.

¹⁴ Hobhouse to Peel, May 13, 1828, Peel Papers, 40396.

¹⁵ Peel to G. R. Gleig, April 26, 1828, *ibid.*

almost impossible. The North American series had never been properly indexed, and the researcher could only guess what documents it contained.

Once in operation, the new system was vigorously enforced. The applicant interested in the North American series was first subjected to an investigation which might extend back to his schooldays.¹⁶ Even if permission was granted, not even the endorsement of the Prime Minister was sufficient to enable the researcher to circumvent the rest of the new system.¹⁷ Apparently Huskisson and Dudley were unaware of these changes, though there is no reason to believe that they would have objected had they been informed. A final step had to be taken, however, if the papers were to be fully guarded against prying eyes. It was still possible for the Secretaries to withdraw the papers attached to their offices, and then to allow examination by outsiders. There is no evidence to indicate that the Secretaries were in the habit of doing this, but when an American historian appeared on the scene and gained access to the North American series via the Colonial Office, Peel was forced into a hurried attempt to deprive them of the privilege. The failure of the Home Secretary's efforts was largely due to the persistence of Jared Sparks.

When Sparks arrived in London in April 1828, he was not entirely unknown. *The North American Review* was read in England, and *Ledyard* had been published there shortly before his arrival.¹⁸ Aided by an array of letters of introduction (most of which were, unfortunately, addressed to political opponents of Peel), Sparks, "a man of handsome presence and distinguished manners,"¹⁹ was soon acquainted with a number of the leading literary and political figures of London. His research project met generally with approval, and several of his new associates offered their assistance should it be needed. No one seems to have expected that the visiting historian would have trouble gaining access to the papers he wished to examine, nor did anyone suggest that he should first consult the Home Secretary.²⁰ On April 30, Sparks called

¹⁶ When G. R. Gleig, future biographer of the Duke of Wellington, requested permission to examine the North American correspondence, Peel wrote to the authorities at Oxford requesting information. He learned that Gleig had been "sent down" for challenging a lecturer to a duel, but was now "I believe a very respectable clergyman." Bishop of Oxford to Peel, April 9, 1828, Peel Papers, 40343.

¹⁷ Peel to Huskisson, May 7, 1828, Peel Papers, 40396.

¹⁸ Sparks was owner and editor of the *North American Review*. *The Life of Ledyard* (Cambridge: Hilliard and Brown, 1828) is the biography of an American world traveler, described as "the first historical research ever undertaken by Mr. Sparks." Adams, I, 372-73.

¹⁹ Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard (1636-1936)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937), p. 281.

²⁰ Adams, II, 51-55.

at the Colonial Office, where he described his research project to the Under-Secretary, Robert Hay, and requested permission to examine the state papers.²¹ The American's "respectability" was underlined by a letter of introduction from the British Minister to the United States, Charles Vaughan,²² and apparently it did not occur to Hay that the right of his office to allow Sparks to examine the Colonial Office portion of the state papers might be challenged.²³ On May 3, an interview was held between Sparks and the Colonial Secretary, Huskisson, and this time the importance of the visiting American was attested by a letter of introduction from Richard Rush, former United States Minister to Great Britain and a personal acquaintance of Huskisson.²⁴ Sparks was informed by the Colonial Secretary that any papers he wished to consult relative to American history would be made available. He was to examine the papers at the Colonial Office, indicating passages of interest to be copied for him by the departmental clerks. He went to work at once, turning first to the North American correspondence of Lord George Germain.²⁵

But by the end of the first week in May, the tide of good fortune that had carried Sparks along since his arrival had turned, and he now learned that his researches had created alarm as well as approval. The news that the Colonial Office was allowing an American to examine the North American correspondence had evoked an immediate reaction from Peel. Determined to convince Huskisson that there had been a mistake, Peel also hoped to take advantage of the Colonial Secretary's discomfiture to win for the Home Secretary the sole right to supervise access to Colonial Office papers. With this double purpose in mind, he wrote to Huskisson, "It is very desirable to act upon some definite rule with respect to access to the . . . State Paper Office." In the past, permission had been granted "exclusively I believe" by the Home Secretary, who had required the successful applicants to abide by the regulations of the institution. Peel then outlined the new regulations put into operation a short time before, with the added proviso that the period during which the documents were made available was limited. He did not mention the fact that these regulations were the recent creations of Hobhouse and himself. He then added

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

²² Hay to Peel, May 10, 1828, Peel Papers, 40396.

²³ On May 5, 1828, Sparks had an interview with Lord Lansdowne, who had been Home Secretary in 1827. Sparks was told "there could be no doubt about the freest access being given to all the papers in the offices which can be useful." Lansdowne did not suggest that Sparks should first get the permission of the Home Secretary. Adams, II, 57.

²⁴ Hay to Peel, May 10, 1828, Peel Papers, 40396. See also J. H. Powell, *Richard Rush* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942), p. 170.

²⁵ Adams, II, 55-57.

a statement that was to cause him some future embarrassment: "I cannot object to any department calling for the correspondence which belonged to it, but if all departments . . . permit authors to consult that correspondence, it would make it very difficult for me to superintend the access generally to . . . the State Paper Office. I should find it impossible to refuse to English Authors any facilities which were given to foreigners but in truth all unity of system would be destroyed." The letter concluded with a lecture on why Americans should not be allowed to examine the North American correspondence.²⁶

Evidently the contents of this letter came as a complete surprise to the officials of the Colonial Office, but they accepted Peel's warning and suggestion without question. When Sparks appeared on May 8, he learned that the volumes of correspondence he had been using were no longer available. In the succeeding interview with Hay, Sparks was informed that the volumes already examined and marked for copying would have to be re-examined by the Colonial Office to determine the "nature" of the information the American was seeking. Sparks would then be required to submit a description of the papers he wished to consult. Naturally such treatment came as a shock to the man who hitherto had been treated as an honored guest. He protested vigorously, pointing out that the last requirement would be difficult to fulfil, since "a principal aim with me was to ascertain what papers there are in the offices suited to my purpose."²⁷ But the Colonial Office refused to yield, and Sparks, evidently hoping that a gesture of compliance might satisfy the requirements, submitted an application for permission to examine the document collections which might logically contain the information he sought.²⁸ Hay then conferred with Huskisson, and it was decided to refer the matter to Peel for final decision. Sparks's application and his letters of recommendation from Vaughan and Rush were sent to the Home Secretary, and in the covering letter Hay explained that to date the American had been allowed access only to the several volumes of correspondence withdrawn from the State Paper Office for that purpose. Furthermore, Peel was assured that "as it is decidedly better that one system should be pursued, . . . Mr. Huskisson is desirous that the Home Office should exercise its discretion with respect to the application made by Mr. Sparks."²⁹ Peel had apparently accomplished his purpose, but the surrender of the Colonial Office had really settled nothing.

The Home Secretary was disturbed and irritated by the news that

²⁶ Peel to Huskisson, May 7, 1828, Peel Papers, 40396.

²⁷ Adams, II, 58.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

²⁹ Hay to Peel, May 10, 1828, Peel Papers, 40396.

Sparks had already examined portions of the North American correspondence. If the American had uncovered information of a controversial nature, the "carelessness" of the Colonial Office had created a politically dangerous situation. To complicate matters further, Sparks was obviously a person of importance, a friend of influential diplomats, and his exclusion from the state papers might well be noticed on both sides of the Atlantic. Evidently for these reasons, the Home Secretary now set about freeing himself from involvement in the Sparks matter, and turned to a solution as old as bureaucracy itself. He tossed the problem back to the Colonial Office, complaining that the question of whether or not the American should be granted access to the state papers "in truth seems to be already decided" by the carelessness of Hay and Huskisson. Peel continued, "I make no objection whatever to the Colonial Office determining in this case what is to be done, and I would much rather that Mr. Sparks should place himself exclusively in communication with your office."³⁰ With his defenses thus prepared to ward off future trouble stemming from Sparks's use of the state papers, Peel informed Hobhouse, "I have protested against it, and have declined all concern with the American Gentleman."³¹

The Sparks matter was of minor importance compared with the other problems confronting Huskisson at this time. His relations with the Prime Minister had continued to deteriorate, and since nothing was to be gained by adding the hostility of Peel to that of Wellington, the Colonial Secretary moved to bring the Sparks affair to a conclusion. On May 12, Sparks was informed by Hay that the Home Office had referred the application back to the Colonial Office for a final decision, and that the request had been refused. Huskisson had been unaware of the regulations governing access to the state papers, and now believed he had exceeded his authority in allowing Sparks to examine the volumes of the North American correspondence he had already consulted. If Sparks wished to examine a specific document, or needed assistance in clearing up a "particular point," the State Paper Office might assist him. Such a practice came within the rules of the Office, but beyond this Hay offered no encouragement. Perhaps anticipating the rejection of his application, Sparks was prepared with a counterproposal. He suggested that he be

³⁰ Peel to Hay, *ibid.*

³¹ Peel to Hobhouse, May 11, 1828, *ibid.* In mid-April, 1829, Robert Southey wrote to Walter Savage Landor, "Jared Sparks . . . came over to examine our state papers. In his search, and in that which took place in consequence of it, so much matter has been ferreted out that the Government wishes to tell its own story, and my pulse was felt; but I declined. . . ." Charles Cuthbert Southey, *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey* (London: Longman, 1850), VI, 45. It is not known who approached Southey with this proposition.

allowed to read the papers he wished to consult, take notes, and then submit these to the proper authorities for inspection. If this were not satisfactory, possibly the State Paper Office regulations might be "so applied as to afford a reasonable use of the papers."³² Hay promised to submit this counterproposal to Huskisson, but there was little hope that it would be accepted. To the Colonial Secretary, the Sparks problem was now ended, and on May 14, he informed Peel, "It is unnecessary therefore to trouble you further in respect to him," and continued, "I entirely subscribe to your view of the propriety of keeping the State Paper Office under your Department, and I shall take care that no further orders be sent from this office, except [for] those documents that may be wanted for the use of the Department itself."³³

The victory was Peel's, and he smugly informed Hobhouse, "The Colonial Office will not again interfere with us."³⁴ If a similar degree of control could be established over the Foreign Office papers, there would be little chance that controversial information could escape from the confines of the State Paper Office. Peel had already discussed the possibility with Hobhouse, who had given his endorsement to such a course of action.³⁵ Apparently convinced that he could manage the Foreign Secretary, the Home Secretary simply asked Hobhouse to delay sending papers from the State Paper Office to any Secretarial Office until it could be determined "whether the volumes are wanted for any other purposes than those of Reference in the Department requiring them."³⁶ Given a sufficient amount of time, Peel might have succeeded in his efforts to close the state papers to effective historical research. But by the end of May 1828, Sparks was busily engaged in another attempt to gain admittance to the papers, and this time he was to succeed.

The rebuff administered by the Colonial Office on May 12 had not caused Sparks to abandon hope that the purpose behind his trip to England might still be realized. He continued to press Hay for an answer to his counterproposal, but the Under-Secretary temporized, and managed to convey the idea that Sparks's troubles resulted from a "difference of opinion" between Peel and Huskisson.³⁷ Sparks ruefully concluded that "Had the application been first made to Mr. Peel, it might possibly have been more successful," and prepared to visit the continent, hoping that while he was gone there might be "some change in the secretaries" or the

³² Adams, II, 62-63.

³³ Huskisson to Peel, May 14, 1828, Peel Papers, 40396.

³⁴ Peel to Hobhouse, May 15, 1828, *ibid.*

³⁵ Hobhouse to Peel, May 13, 1828, *ibid.*

³⁶ Peel to Hobhouse, May 15, 1828, *ibid.*

³⁷ Adams, II, 69.

development of "a better disposition towards opening the papers to my inspection."³⁸

But on May 29, Sparks received information that spurred him into an immediate attack on the decision that had closed the state papers to his researches. On that date, he met Robert Southey, historian and England's poet laureate, and their conversation turned to the topic of the State Paper Office. Southey frequently made use of this institution, and Sparks was surprised to learn that the poet laureate conducted his researches under a set of regulations much more lenient than those suggested by the American in his counterproposal several weeks earlier. Southey had first asked permission to make a general examination of the State papers, and his request had been refused as inconsistent with State Paper Office policy. But Southey had not given up, and a compromise solution had been devised. Whenever Southey wished to use the papers, he specified an area of general interest, and was allowed to examine the volumes in the appropriate series of papers, to read them and to copy passages.³⁹ This information disturbed Sparks deeply, for it seemed that there were two sets of regulations governing the use of the state papers, one for Englishmen and another for visiting Americans. Southey, of course, had been describing the pre-1828 regulations, but Sparks had no way of knowing this. On the following morning, he sent a blistering letter to Hay, in which he recorded in detail his conversation with Southey and then turned the reasons given for his exclusion from the state papers to his own advantage. "I write now to enquire whether you do not feel at liberty to allow me to examine the papers in the same manner, since the Secretary of the Home Department referred the subject back to you with the understanding that such a mode of examining the papers would be permitted as had been usual in similar cases."⁴⁰

Apparently this information was completely new to Hay. Earlier Peel had claimed that Sparks was seeking special privileges, which if granted would make it "impossible to refuse to English Authors any facilities which were given to foreigners."⁴¹ But Southey's revelations indicated the opposite to be nearer the truth, and placed Peel in an embarrassing position. The Home Secretary stood revealed as either misinformed about the State Paper Office regulations or guilty of deliberate misrepresentation. But the Colonial Office was not interested in debating these propositions; its officials simply wanted to shake free from an awkward situation. Writing to Peel on May 31, Hay pointed out that the Southey "case"

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

³⁹ Sparks to Hay, May 30, 1828, Peel Papers, 40397.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Peel to Huskisson, May 7, 1828, *ibid.*, 40396.

would "render it difficult to deal with [Sparks] if the same indulgence is not to be shown to him as in the case of our own Countrymen."⁴² Nevertheless, Sir George Murray, who had succeeded Huskisson as Colonial Secretary a few days earlier, was inclined to agree that there were practical reasons for excluding Sparks from the state papers. The North American correspondence contained information that "might tend to revive feelings which have in a great measure subsided." Therefore, it would be better to refer Sparks back to the Home Office, where he could be more easily subjected to the regulations of the State Paper Office.⁴³

Once again, the vexatious Sparks matter had been tossed into the lap of Peel. The Home Secretary was noted for his icy self-control, and in the many letters he left behind it is rare to find written explosions like the one now evoked by Hay's latest letter. Peel made no attempt to explain away Southey's very embarrassing disclosures, but flatly refused to have any further association with the Sparks affair. It had originated with the Colonial Office, had been complicated by the "assurances granted to him, even given to him by Huskisson," and must end with that Office. With surprising candor, the Home Secretary admitted that he was afraid of the possible repercussions resulting from a charge of discrimination made by a person of Sparks's stature. "Mr. Sparks might say . . . and probably would say the Colonial Department had no objection . . . and the Home Department interfered . . . to suppress some portion of the truth." But if the Colonial Office wished to grant Sparks's application, Peel would not attempt to stop them. "I will order . . . the officers of the State Paper Office to obey every instruction which may be received from the Colonial Office." And in a final outburst of temper, he concluded, "If there be no objection to his publication of everything, let him have everything."⁴⁴

Southey's disclosures and Peel's refusal to have any further association with the affair gave Sparks the victory he had sought. Apparently Murray and Hay realized that the Sparks problem had to be resolved as quickly and quietly as possible to spare both Peel and the Colonial Office further embarrassment. Since Sparks showed no inclination to abandon his efforts, the Colonial Secretary evidently decided that the best solution was to take Peel's latest letter at face value, and grant the American's application for access to the state papers. Murray's decision was forwarded to Sparks on June 7, and Sparks wrote in his journal, "This is joyful news to me, for I had almost despaired of such a result."⁴⁵

⁴² Hay to Peel, May 31, 1828, *ibid.*, 40397.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Peel to Hay, June 4, 1828, *ibid.*

⁴⁵ Adams, II, 80.

Several obstacles still remained between Sparks and the successful completion of his research project, but these were relatively easy to surmount.⁴⁶ The failure of Peel's plan had removed the only important hindrance, and the permission granted by the Colonial Office made it unlikely that the Foreign Office would refuse to give similar concessions to the visiting American. There is no evidence to indicate that Peel attempted to renew his campaign against Sparks, and apparently no effort was made to close the Foreign Office papers to the New England historian.⁴⁷ Dudley's successor as Foreign Secretary, Lord Aberdeen, granted Sparks the permission he sought without objection, informing the American that "the facts of history were public property."⁴⁸ By March 1829, Spark's researches were completed, and he left England convinced that the difficulties of the previous year had been caused by a "serious difference" among the members of the Cabinet.⁴⁹

The success of Sparks's efforts to gain access to the state papers established a fortunate precedent, the force of which was strengthened when the dangers anticipated by Peel failed to materialize. Thus at a later date, George Bancroft was able to write from Washington: "Mr. Robert Lemon . . . is the chief clerk in the State Paper Office, and by the permission of the British Secretary of State, makes copies for me of old documents, relating to American history."⁵⁰

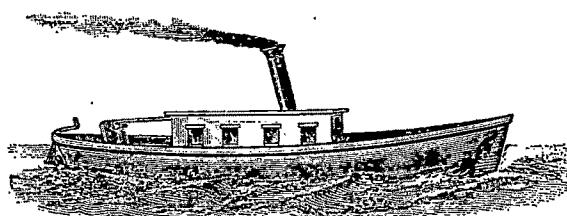
⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-30. Sparks was in France from July, 1828, until January, 1829.

⁴⁷ From June, 1828, until well into 1829, Peel was fully occupied with the Catholic Emancipation crisis, and even if he had wished to do so, he had little time to devote to Jared Sparks. There are indications that in 1830, the Home Secretary did renew his efforts to tighten the regulations governing access to the state papers, but the record is too fragmentary to allow a reconstruction of what happened. See Peel to Hobhouse, January 1, 1830, Peel Papers, 40400.

⁴⁸ Adams, II, 127.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁵⁰ M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *The Life and Letters of George Bancroft* (New York: Scribner, 1908), I, 280.



WILLIAM R. MANIERRE II
University of Virginia

Cotton Mather and the Biographical Parallel

FEW, IF ANY, OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES QUESTIONED COTTON MATHER'S POSITION as the most learned man of his times in America. Benjamin Colman was but stating accepted "fact," when he remarked that Cotton Mather was "the first in the whole *Province* and *Provinces* of *New England*, for universal Literature. . . . Yea it may be among all the *Fathers* in these *Churches*, from the beginning of the *Country* to this day . . . none of them amass'd together so vast a *Treasure* of Learning, and made so much use of it, to a variety of pious Intentions."¹ Although Colman himself rigidly excluded Latin and other learned paraphernalia from his own numerous writings, there is surely no irony intended either in this or in the following comment: "In his *Conversation* as well as in his printed work . . . he shone; being exceeding communicative, and bringing out of his *Treasury* things new and old, without measure."² That Mather's treasury was vast and that without measure he utilized it in his prose is well known to readers of the *Magnalia*³—"the *magnum opus* of the New England theocracy,"⁴ one of "the great works of English literature in the Seventeenth Century."⁵

In accordance with his theory of stylistic copia, Mather packed his masterpiece with the fruits of his erudition; and nothing in his style

¹ *The Holy Walk and Glorious Translation of Blessed Enoch* (Boston, 1728), p. 23. In this and in all subsequent quotations, I have retained the spelling and punctuation of the original sources.

² *Holy Walk*, p. 24.

³ *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702).

⁴ Vernon Lewis Parrington, "The Colonial Mind, 1620-1800," *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927), I, 117.

⁵ Barrett Wendell, *Cotton Mather The Puritan Priest* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1891), p. 161.

has been so often noted and held up to scorn. An unsigned article, published in 1818, amusingly reflects the standard response elicited by Mather's baroque prose. The *Magnalia* is condemned as "a chaotick mass of history, biography, obsolete creeds, witchcraft, and Indian wars, interspersed with bad puns, and numerous quotations in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, which rise up like so many decayed, hideous stumps to arrest the eye and deform the surface."⁶ Samuel Mather, Cotton's son, cites a divergent view: "Mr. Alsop, . . . when an *Abridgment* of this *History* was proposed in an Assembly of Ministers, said: *It is a very improper Proposal; 'Tis impossible to abridge it! Abridging it will injure it. There is nothing superfluous in it . . . No Man that has a Relish for Piety or for Variety can ever be weary of it.*"⁷ The negative view has prevailed. Few twentieth-century readers would dissent from Fred Lewis Pattee's description of the *Magnalia* as "fairly groaning with quotations and citations from every known and unknown tongue, with allusions to quaint and forgotten history dragged in by force to display the author's amazing erudition."⁸

It is my contention, however, that the allusions, quotations and other learned trappings of the *Magnalia* are not "dragged in by force" for exhibitionist purposes; that, although they may well appear to the lover of Ernest Hemingway as "so many decayed, hideous stumps," they are, given Mather's purposes and the theological and literary traditions within which he wrote, absolutely relevant, even essential, to his book. They constitute not merely stylistic decoration and rhetorical ornament, but are actually parts of the argument—they adumbrate the very "system" which Mather is defending, which he hopes to revivify. All this becomes quite clear, I think, when one considers Mather's display of erudition in terms of the "orthodox" Puritan's respect for learning; his continued reliance on written authority; his conviction that truth is truth for all time; his concepts of the nature of history and the oneness of all knowledge; and his belief that what peculiarly distinguished the well-qualified minister, both from others less qualified and from laymen in general, was precisely that minister's attainments in the knowledge derived from books; and when one combines with these Mather's deeply felt conviction that he stood almost alone in defending both the cause of learning and of Puritan "orthodoxy" in New England against innovators, skeptics and rationalists, who would destroy, or at least weaken

⁶ "Books Relating to America . . . *Magnalia Christi Americana*," *North American Review*, VI (1818), 256.

⁷ *The Life of the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather, D.D. & F.R.S.* (Boston, 1729), p. 70.

⁸ *History of American Literature* (New York: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1896), p. 48.

them, one realizes that the learning with which he so liberally endowed this, his major work, is as much a part of the *Magnalia*'s over-all thesis as is any particular argument or group of arguments which it contains.

Certainly it was expected that the reader would be impressed by Mather's learning, but, as we shall see, this expectation and hope is not reducible to mere vanity. Further, Mather clearly felt that such embellishment would magnify his subject; that, by the sheer bulk of the learning contained in the *Magnalia*, the reader would come to share Mather's own belief in the magnitude of his great argument. In no learned device that he used is this purpose more apparent than in that which was intended to show the greatness and importance of the individuals whose lives he wrote. In its simplest terms, this device was the "flattering comparison of his subject to some historical [or legendary] figure,"⁹ what we may term "the biographical parallel."

Mather's use of the biographical parallel represents the culmination of a methodology already well established in the New England tradition: a methodology governed in part by rhetorical considerations and stimulated by typology, a technique of Biblical exegesis.

In the *Manuductio*, Mather poses to himself the question, "Why do I compose the DISCOURSES, which I Exhibit, either in the Press or in the Pulpit?" His ready answer defines the didactic purposes of the literature of seventeenth-century New England. "LORD, I desire to communicate unto others, what may Animate them, or Accomplish them, for Living unto GOD."¹⁰ And Mather, like his predecessors, was convinced that nothing could more successfully "animate" his readers to piety than examples of virtuous behavior drawn from the lives of saintly men. "Good Patterns," he maintains, "do a great deal more Good in the World, than Good Precepts."¹¹ The pious exemplum is a standard feature of Puritan histories, biographies and funeral sermons.

But the Puritan minister was seldom content to limit his praise of good men to exempla drawn from their lives; he preferred to draw the biographical parallel.¹² The simple comparison by which an historical figure was said to resemble the New England personage could easily be compressed into what amounts to metaphorical comparison by antono-

⁹ Reginald E. Watters, "Biographical Technique in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*," *William and Mary College Quarterly—Historical Magazine*, 3rd Series, II (1945), 156.

¹⁰ *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (Boston, 1726), p. 11.

¹¹ *The Good Old Way* (Boston, 1706), p. 1.

¹² For corroboration of this statement and an acute discussion of the significance of the biographical parallel to Puritan literature, see Kenneth B. Murdock's "Clio in the Wilderness: History and Biography in Puritan New England," *Church History*, XXIV, No. 3 (September, 1955), 13.

masia,¹³ and the New England magistrate, minister, judge or Indian fighter might simply be called a "Moses," an "Aaron," a "Gideon" or a "Joshua." In so doing, the author would gain simultaneously a number of desirable ends; among them, to magnify the subject of his biography, to remind his readers of New England's mission, to suggest the purposefulness of history, and to provide himself with two examples instead of one.

The *Magnalia* abounds in this condensed form of comparison, but Mather took particular delight in expanding his parallels with studied ingenuity. His biographies almost invariably open with such ingeniously heightened passages, the variation between which is notable. The general pattern, however, remains much the same. His usual procedure was to begin with a flattering remark concerning the virtues or meritorious achievements of some figure from the past—usually the remote past—and then to claim that the New England personage, whose life he was writing, had either equalled or excelled them.¹⁴ Clearly the general technique was ideally suited to the "bringing out of his *Treasury* things new and old, without measure"; and it is precisely such passages that have earned him the reputation of pedantic exhibitionist.

Increase Mather, when writing his father's biography,¹⁵ cites analogies with Hooker, Heman, David, Luther, Ambrose, Austin, Paul, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil and others; while John Norton, in his life of Cotton¹⁶ finds room for parallels with Junius, Xenophon, Pericles, Luther, Solon, Paraeus, Quintilian, Jacob, Melancthon, Moses and Ezekiel. The point is that the drawing of such parallels was standard practice. In particular, Puritan biographies abound in them, and the *Magnalia* is, among other things, an immense collection of biographies all written by the same man, one noted for his attainments in "universal Literature."

The orthodox New Englander was impelled by the very framework of his beliefs, by his responses, both intellectual and emotional, to the world in which he lived, to search for such analogies and parallels everywhere. His habit of searching the Old Testament for "person[s], or thing[s] or event[s] . . . that might be regarded as figuring, foreshadowing, or betokening . . . corresponding realit[ies] of the new dispensa-

¹³ As in the following titles of funeral sermons delivered after Cotton Mather's death: *The Holy Walk and the Glorious Translation of Blessed Enoch*; *Israel's Mourning for Aaron's death*; *The Departure and Character of Elijah Considered and Improved*.

¹⁴ For a discussion of Mather's use of parallelism in the *Magnalia*, see Watters, "Biographical Technique . . ." throughout.

¹⁵ *The Life and Death of that Reverend Man of God Mr. Richard Mather* (Cambridge, 1670).

¹⁶ *Abel Being Dead Yet Speaketh* (London, 1658).

tion”¹⁷ (typology) provided him with a method, as well as with an added incentive, for the discovery of biographical correspondences. Samuel Mather, Cotton Mather’s uncle, defines the type as the Old Testament figure or “Shadow” of that which appears in the New Testament; the antitype as that which “is shadowed,” and claims that it is a duty incumbent upon the saints to look for such prophetic similitudes.¹⁸ It is not surprising that the habit of searching the Old Testament for types led to the desire to find in both Testaments types for the corresponding antitypes in Colonial New England with which to illuminate God’s word, stir man’s emotions and prove that the New England theocracy was indeed the “objective towards which the whole of human activity had been tending from the beginning of time.”¹⁹

By extension of the typological method, Cotton Mather and other Puritan writers constantly sought for such prophetic similitudes in all of their reading. “It became not too difficult for thorough-going typologists or tropologists to relate the mythology and history of Greece and Rome to those of the Hebrews and to find in the classics as well as in the Bible exemplifications of the continuing providential plan of God, foreshadowed in the Old Testament and revealed in a variety of forms throughout the whole history of mankind.”²⁰ What began as a technique of Biblical exegesis became in the hands of Cotton Mather and others a rhetorical method of utilizing all history as a kind of allegory prophetic of the New England experience.

Thus the Puritan’s reading of history was comparative and motivated by his desire to find the will of God exemplified in the unfolding of events, to look through the particular manifestation to its final cause. But the final cause is God, or in the will of God, and God, to the Puritan way of thinking, was unknowable and to be defined only in terms of certain abstractions, or, as the Puritan termed them, “attributes.” Unknowable or not, however, the Puritan was compelled to understand Him as fully as human frailty would permit. Here again typology is important. As we must ransack all history for types or shadows prophetic of corresponding antitypes to follow, so too must we “look beyond the Shadow, to the Substance, to the Truth and Mystery of it. . . . This may be called the *Prototype*, or the Pattern, out of which, and according to which the other is drawn; as Pictures from the Man, whose Visage

¹⁷ *The Poetical Works of Edward Taylor*, Thomas H. Johnson, ed. (New York: Rockland Editions, 1939), p. 187.

¹⁸ *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1683) (London, 1705), p. 52.

¹⁹ Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, *The Puritans* (New York: American Book Co., 1938), p. 85.

²⁰ Murdock, “Clio,” p. 16.

they represent.”²¹ The substance or prototype is, of course, God. Therefore in drawing parallels between type and antitype and in discussing their common virtues, one is actually, in terms of the external, human manifestations of His “attributes,” doing no less than attempting to define God. And the same is true not only of one’s writing but of all human endeavors to know and understand. As Cotton Mather asks and then, characteristically, answers himself, “What and where my *Relish* for BOOKS, which I may be hungry for? LORD, Because I shall see THEE . . . the more for the Reading of them”;²² and he urgently implores, “In Reading of all *History*, ever now and then make a convenient Pause; to think, *What can I see of the Glorious GOD in these Occurrences?*”²³

To praise good men is more than to provide examples to be emulated; it is also to praise God, to adumbrate His powers and virtues. As Samuel Mather insists prior to the purely eulogistic description of his father, “These are the *Graces* which adorned this *Man* of GOD: But GOD forbid that we should ascribe *any Thing* to him! No! *The Grace of GOD* is to be praised, that was pleased to fill him with *these and other Rational and Religious Ornaments.*”²⁴ In other words, look around or through the virtues and graces of the man described to the original Donor in Whom they are absolute. And in the “Introduction” to “Johannes in Eremo,” Cotton Mather tells the reader how to read the lives contained in the book and, in so doing, reveals his motives in writing it. “Truly, whatever was Excellent in these our *Johns*, I would pray, that the Minds of all that see it, may be raised still to think, *Our Precious Lord Jesus Christ, is greater than these Johns:* All their *Excelencies* are in him Transcendently, Infinitely; as they were from *Him* derived. *High Thoughts* of the Lord Jesus Christ, provoked by *Reading* the Descriptions of these his *Excellent Servants*, that had in them a little of *Him*, and were no farther *Excellent* than as they had so, will make me an abundant Recompence, for all the Difficulties, and all the Temptations, with which my *Writing* is attended.”²⁵ This, the accepted Puritan interpretation of historical and biographical writing goes a long way toward explaining and justifying much that appears to the *Magnalia*’s modern reader as incredible and unjustifiable exaggeration. Seriously to propose a Captain Church as the military antitype of an Alexander or a

²¹ Samuel Mather, *The Figures and Types of the Old Testament*, p. 52.

²² *Manuductio*, p. 15.

²³ *Manuductio*, p. 59.

²⁴ *The Departure and Character of Elijah Considered and Improved* (Boston, 1728), p. 25.

²⁵ *Magnalia*, III, 13.

Caesar is clearly to equate disproportion, but when it is understood that the reader is expected to look beyond all three historical figures to the divine and ultimate source of their particular abilities or excellencies, so as, in short, to "produce . . . some due *Acknowledgements* of the Glorious GOD," the disproportion becomes, though not less extreme, still, far more understandable. Furthermore, when seen in this light, it becomes obvious that the disproportion lies not so much in the equation drawn between a minor New England figure and some far greater predecessor as it does in drawing any kind of parallel between that which is human and that which is divine.

The biographical parallel glorified God by exalting His "Great works in America." And if one accepts at their face value Mather's comments on the learned productions of other erudite authors, one is forced to admit that by being astonished at Mather's multifarious learning, one will, in still another way, be led to glorify the divine attributes. "When you see such astonishing Effects of *Erudition* and *Application*, produced from the Sons of Men . . . Let the Sight still produce from you some due *Acknowledgements* of the Glorious GOD; *My GOD, I adore thy Power, thy Wisdom, thy Goodness, Conspicuous in these Wonderful Performances!*"²⁶ Implicit in the *Magnalia* is the example of Cotton Mather, an example no less to be followed for industry and application than are the New Englanders whose lives he wrote to be imitated for these and other virtues. Furthermore, the honor done to learning is honor given to, and consequently, an indirect defense of, that peculiar brand of ministerial learning of which Mather was the foremost advocate and example.

As a biographical method, parallelism is imprecise, suggestive rather than demonstrative. Its imprecision is revealed by the fact that one historical person can do service for a variety of New England analogues. Moses, for instance, is equally a type for Bradford, Winthrop, Eaton and Eliot. The identification may provide the reader with a generalized frame of reference with regard to the New England figures, but it does not serve to individualize them in any real sense. It was the vague and generalized frame of reference that was most appropriate to Mather's conception of biography: "the narration of an exemplary man's exemplary deeds, written to glorify God, honor the memory of his faithful servants, and stimulate readers to admiration and imitation."²⁷ It was an idealized, and consequently generalized, concept of his subject that Mather was most interested in imparting.

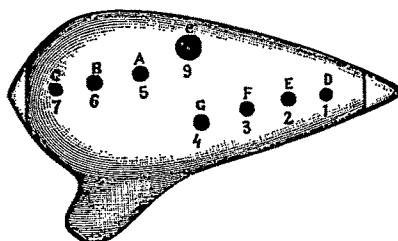
The method is basically allegorical. To equate John Eliot with Moses,

²⁶ *Manuductio*, p. 71.

²⁷ Watters, p. 155.

Jacob, Boniface, Benedict, Irenaeus, John, Abraham, Boanerges, David, Aaron and Polycarp²⁸ was to place Eliot into a vague historical context, non-particularized with regard either to time or to place; to put him within the unfolding and unified pattern of all human history, which is never past, but eternally present in the mind of God, even as are the attributes of which Eliot, and those with whom he is compared, are representative. The subject of a Mather biography was never glorified in and for himself but for the ulterior purpose of glorifying New England's primitive past, and this required that he be dealt with as an idealization rather than as an individual. Each figure, once typified, and consequently generalized, in terms of various abstractions, was further removed from concretion, specificity and individuality by being one of those objects through which we can see the Lord; so that magnification by means of comparison is not only glorification of the individual and, through him, of New England's primitive past, but, ultimately and primarily, glorification and partial definition of that unknowable and indefinable combination of abstractions which is God Himself.

²⁸ As Mather does in "The Life of the Renowned John Eliot," *Magnalia*, III, 170 ff.



KENNETH B. O'BRIEN JR.
Colgate University

Education, Americanization and the Supreme Court: The 1920's

IN 1917 RICHARD CAMPBELL, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF NATURALIZATION, called foreign-speaking aliens within a community "fester spots on the body politic" of that community.¹ By the following year his hysteria had mounted to the point where he not only advocated the elimination of the teaching of any language other than English from the secondary schools, but also suggested that the teaching of Central European tongues in college for scientific use was not valid since most scientific research of any consequence was being done in America rather than in Europe.²

Campbell's feelings were shared by countless others. World War I and the Russian Revolution brought to the surface all the latent fears of the immigrant engendered by the "new" immigration from South and Central Europe.³ Nationalism and xenophobia were intensified and hypenate Americans became subjects for assimilation rather than settlement. Americans called upon the Federal Government to finance Americanization programs, but because of a lack of funds all the Federal Bureau of Education and the Federal Bureau of Naturalization could do was to provide leadership in the form of advice and organizational facilities.⁴

¹ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Naturalization*, 1917, p. 37.

² *Ibid.*, 1918, pp. 25-26.

³ For an excellent survey of this problem see John Higham, *Strangers in the Land; Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955), chaps. viii and ix. Oscar Handlin, in a provocative essay, points to the fallacies of the view that the "new" immigrants were unassimilable into the patterns of American society, and to the unscientific and biased nature of the famous Immigration Commission forty-two-volume study on immigration published in 1910; a study which furnished the basis of much of the restrictive legislation. See Handlin, *Race and Nationality in American Life* (Boston, 1957), chap. v.

⁴ Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, pp. 242-43. See also Edward G. Hartmann, *The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), pp. 225-36.

Before the end of the war a few small voices had been raised in protest to the idea of a common language crusade being able to solve the problems of the nation. Frank V. Thompson, Superintendent of the Boston Public Schools, called this method one the Germans had tried without success, and he insisted that habits of thinking and feeling could not be manufactured by force and decree.⁵ Thompson's anxiety was shared by the foreign language press and other immigrant associations. The more courageous of these groups began to find their tongues before the war ended.⁶ Steven Hattala, manager of the New York Hungarian daily newspaper, the *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava*, pledged the use of his newspaper to the quest for Americanization, but he took exception to the compulsory English language program. Hattala pointed out that a man who knew many languages was an intelligent man; "it is not the language that makes a good American citizen, but the character and the spirit."⁷ Their protests were swallowed up, however, in the mounting tide of compulsory English language advocates.

With the end of the war many restraints were loosened and the nation plunged eagerly into an intensified campaign for unity. Three things made this movement particularly virile. In the first place, fears engendered by radical ideas spreading from the Bolshevik experiment in Russia magnified immigrant differences.⁸ Secondly, the rural, anti-foreign segments of the progressive movement, who had seen many of their reforms come to fruition under the Wilson administration, returned to moral crusades such as prohibition and 100% Americanism; ideas which had long been submerged beneath the crust of populism and progressivism.⁹ A third reason, at least one stressed by the United States Com-

⁵ *Immigration and Americanization: Selected Readings*, ed. and comp. Philip Davis (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1920), pp. 582-90.

⁶ Both Higham and Hartmann maintain that it was not until the war was over that these groups began to protest. Some of them did so, however, before the war ended. See Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, p. 254; Hartmann, *Movement to Americanize the Immigrant*, pp. 253-58.

⁷ Hattala to Dr. P. P. Claxton, July 10, 1918. Records of the Council of National Defense, File 13 J-A3 (National Archives).

⁸ For the most recent and comprehensive survey of the "Big Red Scare" see Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1955).

⁹ Richard Hofstadter effectively draws out the incongruities of this type of sentiment within progressivism as contrasted with its drive for political reform; the clash between the rural and urban elements within and outside of the populist-progressive elements of the population. See Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955). See also Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, pp. 265-66. This is also borne out by an examination, by the author, of the Papers of William Jennings Bryan (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

missioner of Education, was the discovery in the draft tests of the high rate of illiteracy. This revelation awakened leaders of education to the fact that the "melting pot" had been essentially a figment of their imagination.¹⁰

The solution seemed to be the public school. If American youth, especially those from foreign language speaking homes, could be insulated from the "demoralizing" effects of foreign languages, particularly German, then perhaps they would be strengthened in their devotion to America. As a result many states passed laws stressing the learning of English as the major element in their Americanization programs, and several states specifically passed laws prohibiting the teaching of German below the high school level.¹¹

This legislation quite naturally antagonized German-American groups, who resented the association of the German language with Prussianism or with a lack of patriotism.¹² It was not surprising, therefore, that the question of language coercion came to the United States Supreme Court from Nebraska, a state with a large German-American population.¹³

In 1919 the Nebraska Legislature passed a law prohibiting any person or teacher in a private, denominational, parochial or public school to teach any language other than English to children who had not successfully passed the eighth grade. As a consequence, the District Court for Hamilton County, Nebraska, convicted a teacher in the Zion Parochial School of unlawfully teaching a student to read German, before this

¹⁰ Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1919, pp. 43-45. This was also the last time during the 1920's that a major section on Americanization appeared in these reports.

¹¹ Francis G. Blair, "The American Melting Pot," *National Education Association, Proceedings*, LXV (1927), 38; William C. Bagley, "Federal Aid for Public Schools," *N.E.A., Proceedings*, LIX (1921), 619. In 1919 sixteen states prohibited the teaching of foreign languages in all public and private primary schools. These were Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Illinois, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oklahoma and Oregon. See Hartmann, *Movement to Americanize the Immigrant*, pp. 253-54; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, pp. 259-60.

¹² Elihu Root made this charge as early as the spring of 1917:

. . . one does not intentionally introduce the young to bad company, or subject them to demoralizing influences that can be avoided. The Prussianizing of the German people has been a process of demoralization until they have become exponents and their language the vehicle for the expression of a gross and brutal philosophy of life which involves a negation of the Christian morality of modern civilization. The influence of Germany and the prevailing German thought of our time are demoralizing in a high degree, and we have no right to facilitate exercise of that influence upon the youth of America.

Root to Richard J. Biggs, May 31, 1918, Eilhu Root Papers (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

¹³ Meyer v. the State of Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390 (1923).

student had passed the eighth grade.¹⁴ In their argument before the Supreme Court the attorneys for Nebraska freely admitted that the legislation had been passed with the sole purpose of creating "an enlightened American citizenship in sympathy with the principles and ideals of this country," and to prevent children from being trained in foreign languages and cultures before they had an opportunity to learn English and "observe American ideals." In addition they maintained that it was fully within the police power of the state to regulate its own educational system.¹⁵

Justice James C. McReynolds read the majority opinion. He began with a brief dissertation on the value of education to the American people. McReynolds pointed out that parents had a natural duty and right to educate their children in a manner suitable "to their station in life."¹⁶ This statement was interesting for two reasons. In the first place, it indicated McReynolds' recognition of a basic inequality in social attitudes in America which permitted different types of educational facilities for people in varying walks of life. In the second place, this was the first case in which the Court categorically affirmed primary parental rights in American education.¹⁷

McReynolds then turned to an examination of the particulars of the case. Since German had been a desirable subject in the schools up until World War I, he argued that mere knowledge of the language could not now be regarded as harmful. He pointed out that even if the end result of giving all the youth of the nation a knowledge of English was desirable, it still could not be coerced by methods which conflicted with the Constitution. Comparing this type of legislation, somewhat erroneously, with the patterns of Plato's *Republic* and the Spartan political system wherein inferior citizens were submerged and ideal ones developed, he charged that a similar American restriction would violate the letter and spirit of the Constitution. In addition McReynolds pointed out that no immediate emergency existed which rendered knowledge of a language other than English so clearly harmful as to justify its prohibition with the consequent infringement of previously enjoyed rights. Thus, the majority of the Court declared the Nebraska legislation to be arbitrary and without reasonable relation to any end within the competence of

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 396-97.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 393-95.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

¹⁷ Sister M. Bernard Francis Loughery, *Parental Rights in American Educational Law: Their Bases and Limitations* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1952), p. 124.

the state.¹⁸ The principle expressed in this decision was also used to rule against similar state legislation in Iowa and Ohio.¹⁹

Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, with Justice George Sutherland concurring, registered a dissent to the majority. Holmes felt that it was desirable for all citizens of the United States to speak a common tongue. He pointed out that familiarity with a language was established in childhood and that if a child heard only a foreign language in the home, it was not unreasonable to require that he should hear and speak only English at school. The major factor in his dissent was that these cases presented a question "upon which men reasonably might differ," and he felt that the United States Constitution would permit an experiment of this sort to be tried.²⁰

For the first time a Supreme Court decision aroused considerable discussion as to the place of the Court in determining educational policy. Many people who had been firmly convinced that the state legitimately could provide uniform language requirements in the schools, were disturbed by the decision. They insisted that the Court had overstepped its bounds in declaring the acts unconstitutional. Ellwood P. Cubberley, Dean of the Stanford University School of Education and a noted educational author, thought the decision to be "almost incomprehensible." He maintained that assimilating the foreigner was one of the leading problems in the schools, and the justices had merely compounded the difficulty by this decision. Cubberley wondered how the Court could conclude that "such an important nationalizing requirement" interfered with guarantees of individual and family freedom.²¹ More significant was the recognition by educators of the controlling influence of Supreme Court decisions on education. I. N. Edwards, Professor of Education at the University of Chicago, declared that the decision in the Meyer case reversed an important educational policy followed by approximately

¹⁸ 262 U.S. 390, pp. 400-3.

¹⁹ *Bartels v. Iowa; Bohning v. Ohio; Pohl v. Ohio; Nebraska District of Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, et al. v. McKelvie et al.*, 226 U.S. 404 (1923).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 412. Max Lerner noted that many people expressed surprise at Holmes's dissent in this case, feeling that his liberal views would have caused him to side with the majority. Lerner, however, pointed out that Holmes was being consistent. Holmes believed in judicial tolerance of state legislative action, especially in a situation of this nature where he thought that a desirable end could be achieved through means which were not unreasonable. *The Mind and Faith of Justice Holmes: His Speeches, Essays, Letters and Judicial Opinions*, ed. Max Lerner (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1943), p. 318.

²¹ Ellwood P. Cubberley, "The American School Program from the Standpoint of the Nation," *N.E.A., Proceedings*, LXI (1923), 181.

one-fourth of the states.²² Edwards criticized this power, maintaining that education was essentially local in character, that state educational policy was not a matter of law but one of opinion. With this in mind the Court should make a greater effort to respect state legislative policy.²³

The real or fancied problem of assimilating the foreign born was thrust before the American public with even more force in the famous Oregon School case.²⁴ In November 1922, the people of Oregon, prodded by the Ku Klux Klan, passed an initiative measure requiring parents to send their children to the public primary schools controlled by the state. According to the attorneys for the state the law had several objectives. In the first place, they argued that the increase in juvenile crime in the United States was connected to the growth of parochial schools. Because these schools took pupils out of the public schools the lawyers contended that the students were segregated into special groups and so developed antisocial attitudes. Secondly, they expressed their alarm at the rising tide of religious suspicion in the schools, which they claimed came from putting children in special religious schools. Last, and most important, they wanted to assimilate immigrant children (the vast majority of whom they claimed did not attend public schools) in order to mingle children of different sects and races to guard against "further internal dissensions and consequent weakening of the community against foreign dangers."²⁵

The Oregon school law directly resulted from the nativist sentiment which arose in full force in the early years of the twenties. Strong backing for the measure came from the Scottish Rite Masons, the Federated Patriotic Societies and the Ku Klux Klan, all of which were extremely influential in Oregon politics in 1922.²⁶ The Klan had been reorganized after the war to campaign against alien races, creeds and radical social ideas. It was, as well, a dying gasp of fundamentalist Protestantism, striking out at secularism and Roman Catholicism. Membership in the Klan

²² I. N. Edwards, "State Educational Policy and the Supreme Court of the United States," *The Elementary School Journal*, XXVI (1925), 25.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

²⁴ *Pierce v. Society of Sisters; Pierce v. Hill Military Academy*, 268 U.S. 510 (1925).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 524-25. See also Robert W. Bruere, "The Supreme Court on Educational Freedom," *The Survey*, July 1, 1925, p. 379. This Americanization argument loses some force in the light of the fact that Oregon, as late as 1922, had not created any statewide program to provide for immigrant education or Americanization; this would indicate that there was no need for such a program. See the report from J. A. Churchill, Superintendent of Public Instruction, State of Oregon, to the Bureau of Naturalization, 1922, in Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Americanization Section, File E27671 (National Archives).

²⁶ *School and Society*, August 11, 1923, pp. 177-78; *ibid.*, April 12, 1924, p. 430; *The Literary Digest*, June 13, 1925, p. 71.

boomed, and by 1925 it included some four or five million persons.²⁷ The Klan was particularly strong in Oregon where, it was charged, Governor Pierce, a Democrat, was elected by successfully courting the Klan's support. The Governor, in return for this support, agreed to help the Klan pass its compulsory public school law; this was done with virtually no protest from the press, the pulpit or the public in the state.²⁸

Two corporations tested the law. One, the Society of Sisters, maintained several academies and schools designed to teach the usual school subjects and the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. The other corporation, the Hill Military Academy (a private school), taught military training in addition to the customary subjects. These two organizations claimed that the compulsory school law diminished their enrollments. This caused their property to depreciate, they charged, and so interfered with the protection of rights and property guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.²⁹

In addition to the constitutional arguments the lawyers for the Society of Sisters delivered a lengthy discourse on the traditional values of private and religious education. They pointed out that the leaders of the Revolution and those who drafted the Constitution were products of private or religious schools. If the law was upheld the attorneys argued that an important and essential portion of the nation's educational system would be destroyed.³⁰

As in the Meyer case, Justice McReynolds delivered the opinion of the Court. Basing his decision on the principle established in the Meyer case, McReynolds maintained that the Oregon law unreasonably interfered with the liberty of parents to direct the education of their children. (Apparently Justice Holmes felt that this type of restriction was one which all reasonable men would reject because he joined the unanimous Court in declaring the Oregon law unconstitutional.) McReynolds went on to point out that the law, in attempting to standardize children by forcing them into the public schools, ran counter to the fundamental theory of liberty upon which the nation rested. The child was not the

²⁷ Preston W. Slosson, *The Great Crusade and After, 1914-1928* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930), pp. 307-8. See also Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, pp. 293-94; Murray, *Red Scare*, p. 265; Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, p. 295.

²⁸ Waldo Roberts, "The Ku Kluxing of Oregon," *The Outlook*, March 14, 1923, pp. 490-91. Other Klan bills were introduced which attempted to remove the Catholic Chaplain from the state penitentiary, prevent the wearing of Catholic garb in any school in the state and amend the ecclesiastical privilege of sacramental wine. *Ibid.*, p. 491.

²⁹ 268 U.S. 510, pp. 532-33.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 514-15.

"mere creature of the state," and parents had the right and duty to "direct his destiny."³¹

National reaction to this case was extensive and favorable. Newspaper opinion was virtually unanimous in support of the decision.³² The editors of the *New York Times*, who noted that few Court decisions in recent years had attracted as much attention as this one, welcomed the ruling as an asset in helping to stamp out "one of the most hateful by-products of the Ku Klux movement."³³ They also viewed the decision as a happy omen as to what the Court would do when and if the Tennessee anti-evolution law reached that body.³⁴ Interestingly, William Jennings Bryan, the great protagonist of the anti-evolution crusade, interpreted the Oregon decision as sanctioning the anti-evolution laws. He confidently predicted, throughout the course of the Scopes trial, that the Oregon ruling would support his position in defense of the Tennessee law:

The Oregon case affirms the right of the parent to guard the religious welfare of the child and this, I think, is decisive in our case. The Oregon case also affirms the right of the state to control the schools to the extent of compelling the teaching of anything that the state deems necessary, and explicitly declaring the right of the state to prohibit the teaching of anything 'manifestly inimical' to the public welfare. The words 'manifestly inimical' might be in a large way open for construction, but certainly the state legislature or the state Supreme Court, rather than the United States Supreme Court, would be the power to decide what is 'manifestly inimical.'³⁵

Bryan was joined in this sentiment by large segments of the fundamentalist Protestant community. An exultant cry burst forth from *The Methodist* which hailed the decision as a new "Magna Charta" in American education, as well as one of the "high points in American history." Legislation would ensue which would put all private schools under strict state supervision for the great moral benefit of all concerned; this would give the leaders of church and moral reform a "magnificent new field

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 534-35.

³² Robert F. Drinan, "Parental Rights and American Law—the Oregon School Case Twenty-five Years After," *The Catholic World*, CLXXII (1950), 22.

³³ *New York Times*, June 2, 1925, 22:1.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Bryan to Austin Peay, June 27, and Bryan to Samuel Untermeyer, June 11, 1925, Bryan Papers. See also William J. and Mary B. Bryan, *Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1925), pp. 480, 530. It was evident from these statements that Bryan had not seen, or understood, the implications of the Meyer decision which made it clear that the United States Supreme Court could decide what was "manifestly inimical" to the public welfare in the field of public education.

of operation," and they concluded, enthusiastically, "it is a great and wonderful decision for us."³⁶

Many others praised the decision for slightly different reasons than those of the Great Commoner and fundamentalist groups. Arthur Dean, one of the editors of *Industrial Education Magazine*, said that this was the most important Supreme Court decision on education. The ruling brought back something that educators were forgetting, he insisted, namely that "children belong primarily to parents and only to a limited extent to the state."³⁷ The *Political Science Quarterly* indicated that the case revealed the constitutional obstacle "over which bigotry or mistaken patriotism must fall when legislatures attempt to control private education."³⁸ Editorials in leading periodicals called the Oregon law arbitrary and lauded the Supreme Court for maintaining "liberty" by restricting such laws.³⁹ Felix Frankfurter, however, issued a word of caution as to the apparent "liberalism" of the Court in this case. To be sure he praised the decision, along with that in the Meyer case, as putting an end to "two striking manifestations of post war obscurantism"; nevertheless he pointed out that by the time of the decision in the Oregon case public opinion opposed the compulsory school law, and so the Court merely reflected the general drift of public opinion.⁴⁰

The lack of protest on the part of educators and laymen indicated that the public, too, was more inclined to view with favor attempts to break down conformity. This was not because of any sudden liberalism on the part of great segments of the population but rather because nativist sentiment, and the anti-Catholic activities of the Ku Klux Klan, were dying or were very nearly dead by 1925. Immigration restriction had broken down the unreasonable fear of the immigrant and so the public could view, with more equanimity, decisions such as that delivered in the Oregon case.

³⁶ *Christian Fundamentals in School and Church*, VII (1925), 33-34.

³⁷ Arthur Dean, "A Far Reaching Decision," *Industrial Education Magazine*, XXVII (1925), 38.

³⁸ *Political Science Quarterly*, XLI (1926), 60.

³⁹ For editorial comment see *The Outlook*, June 10, 1925, p. 205; *The Literary Digest*, April 18, 1925, p. 32; *The Commonwealth*, Feb. 19, 1930, p. 433.

⁴⁰ Felix Frankfurter, "Can the Supreme Court Guarantee Toleration?" *The New Republic*, June 17, 1925, pp. 86-87. Perhaps more credit can be given the Court for the Meyer decision since it came when nativist fervor was still fairly high. The Court during the twenties, however, was not thought of as being liberal. Even in the field of educational litigation the Taft Court refused to modify *Plessy v. Ferguson* / 163 U.S. 537 (1905) / and, in the case of *Gong Lum v. Rice* / 275 U.S. 78 (1927) /, ruled that the state could provide "separate but equal" school facilities for Chinese as well as for Negro pupils.

Constitutionally the Oregon decision was significant in assuring the continued existence of private schools and in protecting parental and teachers' rights. It also helped to pave the way for the incorporation of the Federal Bill of Rights into the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court, by construing liberty to include the right of parents to direct the education of their children, opened the way for federal protection of liberty of thought against state encroachments under the Fourteenth Amendment.⁴¹

The third and final case concerned with the problems of Americanization and assimilation of the foreign born in the twenties was *Farrington v. Tokushige*.⁴² In 1920, 1923 and 1925 the Hawaii Legislature passed laws to regulate the conduct of foreign-language schools and the teaching of foreign languages, "in order that the Americanism of the pupils may be promoted."⁴³ Under the provisions of these acts, children in Hawaii were required to have completed at least the third grade before entering a foreign-language school. The law empowered the Department of Public Instruction to certify, inspect and prescribe courses for these schools.⁴⁴

The problem of assimilating the foreign born was a very real one in Hawaii. There were 163 foreign-language schools in the Territory, of which 147 were Japanese. The Japanese schools had twenty thousand pupils and three hundred teachers. In fact, in the public schools of Hawaii, Japanese students represented almost one-half of the school population.⁴⁵ One writer praised the laws regulating these schools; the problem of Americanizing the Japanese, many of whom came from rural areas of Japan and were therefore doubly hard to assimilate, was a serious charge upon the Territory, he argued.⁴⁶ The operators of the foreign-language schools, encouraged by the decisions in the Meyer and Oregon cases, appealed for an injunction against the acts on the grounds that they deprived them of their liberty and property as safeguarded by the Fifth Amendment.⁴⁷

Justice McReynolds, who by now had been established as an expert in litigation of this nature, read the majority decision. He based his opinion on the Meyer and Oregon cases, and asserted that the Hawaiian laws would destroy most of the foreign-language schools and deprive

⁴¹ Zechariah Chafee, Jr., *Free Speech in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), pp. 321-22.

⁴² 273 U.S. 248 (1927).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-91.

⁴⁶ Henry B. Swartz, "The Foreign Language Schools of Hawaii," *School and Society*, January 23, 1926, p. 102.

⁴⁷ 273 U.S. 248, p. 290.

parents of a fair opportunity to procure instruction for their children.

McReynolds pointed out that all the provisions of the acts seemed to be designed as a deliberate plan to bring the foreign-language schools under strict governmental control, for which there was no adequate reason. Thus, the Court upheld the injunction against the Hawaiian laws granted by the Circuit Court of Appeals on the grounds that the laws violated the Fifth Amendment.⁴⁸

The American public, feeling much more secure now that quota legislation had diminished the immigrant problem, reacted favorably to this decision. Educators and laymen realized that, even though the problem of assimilation was more pronounced in Hawaii, the Supreme Court, in line with the Meyer and Oregon opinions, had to rule in favor of parental and private school rights.⁴⁹ A writer in *School and Society*, however, pointed out that the judgment would increase the Japanese problem in Hawaii, but the gain in friendly relations between Japan and America as a result of the decision would more than compensate for any problems that it might create.⁵⁰

It is difficult to overestimate the import of the Meyer, Society of Sisters and Farrington cases. In the first place, the idea of the priority of the rights of the parent to supervise the education of his children was emphatically reaffirmed. In the second place, and in keeping with the general political and social trends in the 1920's, the Court overruled state action when it attempted to limit the rights and powers of individuals, especially individuals as property holders. Finally, and perhaps more significant, these cases dealt with matters upon which there was a considerable amount of public discussion. Americanization, assimilation of the foreign born and the combatting of foreign languages and ideals represented areas of very real concern to many Americans. Thus, when a conservative Court in a conservative decade seemed to exhibit liberal, perhaps even radical, ideas in declaring unconstitutional legislation designed to combat foreign ideas, educators and the general public suddenly became aware of the power of the Court in educational affairs.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 298-99.

⁴⁹ *The Elementary School Journal*, XXVII (1927), 561-64; *The Literary Digest*, March 26, 1927, p. 10.

⁵⁰ *School and Society*, March 5, 1927, p. 289.



DAVID O. MOBERG
Bethel College, St. Paul

Religion and Society in the Netherlands and in America¹

PERSONAL OBSERVATION OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGION AND OTHER parts of society in the Netherlands and study of trends in the United States have led the author of this paper to conclude that the Dutch pattern of vertical pluralism (the *verzuiling*) could become the future American pattern of religion-society relationships. Subsequent investigation in written literature and through personal contacts has indicated that others are of a similar opinion.²

Certain forces in American society appear either to be planned intentionally to establish vertical pluralism in America or to have latent consequences that may result in it. The historical events and social forces that led to Dutch vertical pluralism and certain analogous trends in contemporary American society support this conclusion.

The Dutch term *verzuiling* is derived from the word *zuil* which means a column or pillar, so "pillarization" would be a close English cognate. Ideologically the concept refers to the belief that religious and philosophical ideologies provide the foundation upon which society rests. Sociologically the *verzuiling* consists of the division of social organizations and activities into three, or sometimes four, chief systems, each of which has a different religious or philosophical orientation. Separate organizations are established to maintain distinctions in all areas of life because each grouping has somewhat different doctrines and principles. Society is viewed as resting upon the four basic pillars—Roman Catholic, neo-Calvinistic (*Gereformeerd*), liberal Protestant and humanist. Secular-

¹ The author is grateful to Professors J. P. Kruijt of the University of Utrecht and William Petersen of the University of California, Berkeley, for constructive criticism of earlier versions of this paper.

² For examples see Gerhard E. Lenski, "Religion and the Modern Metropolis," *Review of Religious Research*, I (Summer, 1959), 24-29; Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1955) and Martin E. Marty, "The New Establishment," *Christian Century*, LXX (October 15, 1958), 1176-79.

ists who are outside of confessional organizations and socialists are usually included with the humanists or are part of an additional "neutral" category which attempts to serve all of the people. The minor religious groups usually align themselves with either the neo-Calvinists or the liberal Protestants.³ When orthodox or conservative Protestants work together, they usually label themselves "Christians."

Following Fogarty's precedent, the term *vertical pluralism* is used in this paper for the Dutch term *verzuiling*, although the term is untranslatable and no other language has a direct equivalent for it.⁴

The main Dutch divisions are similar to the categories of Protestant, Catholic, Jew and "all others" sometimes applied in American classifications but are much more strongly linked with various forms of social action than is generally true of the American religions. Religious ideology has led to the establishment of separate organizations and agencies by each major religious grouping in such diverse and far-flung areas as social welfare, mass communications, education, libraries, recreation, politics, cultural associations, vocational societies, labor unions, economic activities and even social research.

Although the roots of the Dutch system of vertical pluralism go back to the Reformation, its immediate antecedents are in the nineteenth century. After the Constitution of 1848, Catholic self-expression in newspapers, literary journals and history books which tried to break the linkage between nationalism and Protestantism culminated in the establishment of the Catholic State Party in the 1880's.⁵ During the same period Dr. Abraham Kuyper, a neo-Calvinist minister, consolidated and led the Anti-Revolutionary Party, established the Free University and promulgated the theological doctrine of *sphere sovereignty*, the idea that the sovereignty of God is the source and dominating principle over such sovereign spheres as the family, state, church and society.⁶ This doctrine is the equivalent of the Roman Catholic principle of *subsidiarity*, summarized by Pope Pius XI in Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* in 1931, which holds that

³ J. A. A. Van Doorn, "Verzuiling: Een Eigentijds Systeem van Sociale Controle," *Sociologische Gids*, III (March-April, 1956), 41-49.

⁴ Michael P. Fogarty, *Christian Democracy in Western Europe, 1820-1953* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957), pp. 41-47. See S. E. Steigenga-Kouwe, "Verzuiling en Bevolkingsgroei," *Socialisme en Democratie*, Verzuijlingsnummer (January, 1957), pp. 40-46.

⁵ W. G. Versluis, *Geschiedenis van de Emancipatie der Katholieken in Nederland van 1795—Heden* (Utrecht: Dekker en Van De Vegt, 1948).

⁶ For his own presentation of the principle of sphere sovereignty as presented in the Stone Foundation Lectures, 1898, see Abraham Kuyper, *Calvinism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1931), especially pp. 78-109.

It is an injustice, a grave evil, and a disturbance of right order for a larger and higher organization to arrogate to itself functions which can be performed by smaller and lower bodies.⁷

Belief in sphere sovereignty led to the philosophy that education should be under the control of parents, and not of government or the church. Schisms in Dutch Protestantism during the nineteenth century and the emergence of numerous special organizations related to each of the major religious-philosophical "columns" can be traced more to controversies related to education than to any other one factor.⁸ Catholics and neo-Calvinistic Protestants united in a "monstrous alliance" to demand equality for religious schools. By the "education pacification" of 1889 and the "great pacification" of 1917 they won their objective of equal government subsidies for all schools. By the end of the nineteenth century most political leaders believed political opinion should be based upon fundamental considerations of creed and philosophy; "by the second decade of the twentieth century political and religious divisions in the Netherlands ran largely parallel."⁹

Dutch vertical pluralism is the result of many social forces. Several minority religious groups were struggling for power. The desire to receive government subsidies for their educational and welfare institutions led to political cooperation of previously hostile groups, outstanding among which were the Roman Catholics and the conservative neo-Calvinistic Protestants.¹⁰

Increasing competition between religious groups which resulted from the growth of new sects and the relative decline of membership in the Netherlands Reformed Church led to efforts to protect people from heresy as defined by each respective religious group. It was believed that dikes around social associations would protect people from those who are *andersdenkende* (having other points of view) and thus would prevent them from wandering away from their faith. Hence group exclusiveness was fostered deliberately by each church to shelter members from influences considered detrimental to religious faith or practice.

⁷ From the Encyclical as quoted by Fogarty, p. 41.

⁸ Dirk W. Jellema, "The Dutch Calvinist Labor Movement, 1870-1910," *The Reformed Journal*, VII (October, 1957), 10-13; and Donald Oppewal, "The Roots of the Calvinistic Day School Movement (I)," *The Reformed Journal*, VIII (September, 1958), 8-14.

⁹ Bernard H. M. Vlekke, *Evolution of the Dutch Nation* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1945), p. 310.

¹⁰ For an excellent analysis of vertical pluralism in social work see A. ter Hoever, "Facetten van de Verzuiling Binnen het Maatschappelijk Werk," *Sociologische Gids*, III (March-April, 1956), 53-58.

The establishment of vertical pluralism represented a counteroffensive move by religious authorities against the secularizing effects of expanding industrialization and urbanization. It attempted to retain members in the church or regain for it those who had drifted away from their religious associations and obligations when they migrated away from rural communities and shifted to urban patterns of living.¹¹ Through vertical pluralism, social control by each church over its members was increased. Domination over the individual by rational organization was combined with domination by traditional ideological control through agencies and activities in each of the "pillars" or "columns."¹²

The pluralist ideology reflected a shifting of the relative accent on ends and means in religious organizations with the means gaining increased attention.¹³ It was hoped that the religious commitment and devotion which were no longer effected (if indeed they ever had been!) through informal controls in society and in the internal selves or consciences of persons could be produced through increased formal organization and activity.

Lower-class people, previously feeling themselves to be the victims of exploitation, were given the right to vote. Religious cleavages were partly along class lines, so political action was used to gain benefits for the lower classes. This action occurred partly through church-related organizations established to compete with those tenuously linked with the vested socio-economic interests of society and with the Netherlands Reformed Church.

Simultaneous with the other social forces mentioned, a shifting in the relative strength of religious bodies occurred. The membership of minority religious groups steadily increased while that of the Netherlands Reformed Church decreased. In 1850 about 38 per cent of the population were Roman Catholic, 55 per cent Netherlands Reformed, 1 per cent neo-Calvinist, 6 per cent other, and none "unchurched." In 1950 the respective figures were 38, 31, 9, 5, and 17 per cent.¹⁴

The struggle of religious groups for power, group exclusiveness, opposition to secularization, increased efforts to exert rational and formal social

¹¹ I. Schöffer, "Verzuiling, Een Specifiek Nederlands Probleem," *Sociologische Gids*, III (July, 1956), 121-27.

¹² Van Doorn, *op. cit.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ F. Boerwinkel, *Kerk en Secte* (The Hague: Boekencentrum, N. V., 2d ed., 1956), p. 11. See also J. P. Kruijt, "De Gegevens Betreffende de Kerkelijke Gezindten van de Volkstelling 1947," *Sociologisch Bulletin*, III, No. 3 (1949), 80-87. Many in the Netherlands and elsewhere believe that the proportion of Roman Catholics in the Dutch population increased significantly during the past century. Statistics indicate that this is not true, but the Roman Catholic Church has become the largest single religious body by virtue of the relative decline of Reformed Church membership.

control over church members, relatively greater emphasis upon means and decreased emphasis upon ends, social class linkages with religious affiliation and the shift in relative numerical strength of religious bodies thus have worked in combination with each other to produce a pattern of relationships between religious institutions and the remainder of society that is unique. Through the organizations that comprise the "pillars" upon which society rests, religion is now linked with practically every type of social activity.

Many Dutch people firmly and sincerely believe in the virtues of vertical pluralism. Both Calvinist and Catholic theology uphold it in the belief that "things of the spirit" should dominate "things of the flesh." Many intellectuals believe, however, that its costs outweigh its benefits. They therefore are attempting to effect a breakthrough (*doorbraak*) to eradicate it from their society.¹⁵

Although there are many differences between the United States and the Netherlands, there are indications that we are now engaged in a *Kulturmampf* and experiencing social trends analogous to those of Holland in the late nineteenth century when its vertical pluralism emerged. The increasing identification of people in terms of their membership in a Protestant, Catholic or Jewish subculture¹⁶ is but one of the bits of evidence that support the hypothesis that vertical pluralism may be emerging in America. This development and strengthening of religious subcultural identifications is encouraged by stress upon cultural pluralism and the declining significance of nationality differentiation.

In many local communities sharp differences prevail between Catholics and Protestants, Jews and Gentiles, Mormons and non-Mormons and other religious subgroups of the population. Such distinctions may contribute to an increasing group solidarity and exclusiveness among the major religious divisions which could easily lead to socio-religious distinctions as pronounced as those of the Netherlands.

Political preferences and religious ideologies already are correlated to a small degree in the United States. If new political parties should emerge out of religious and political cross-identifications as a result of controversies over public funds for church-related institutions, controver-

¹⁵ For additional descriptions of vertical pluralism in the Netherlands and brief discussions of some of its manifest and latent consequences see David O. Moberg, "The Verzuiling: Socio-Religious Differentiation in the Netherlands," and J. P. Kruijt, "The Influence of Denominationalism on Social Life and Organizational Patterns," *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, VIII (July-December, 1959), 105-11.

¹⁶ Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, and Lenski, *Review of Religious Research*, I, 24-29. Marty (*Christian Century*, LXX, 1176-79) believes a fourfold religious classification is emerging in America with governmental recognition and support.

sies over desegregation in the South or other events, third parties could hold the balance of power just as they do in the Netherlands and some other western nations.

The religious and parochial school movement, which was the most important single source of Dutch vertical pluralism, is growing in strength. In 1957, 13.4 per cent of the nation's elementary and secondary school children were enrolled in religious schools, compared to under 6 per cent half a century earlier.¹⁷ Many of the private schools springing up in resistance to desegregation in the South are church-related. Baptists, traditionally among the strongest supporters of the separation of church and state, are in the vanguard of this movement. American Protestants were supporting some three thousand elementary and six hundred secondary schools with an enrollment of more than three hundred and fifty thousand pupils in 1959.¹⁸

Aid to parochial and other private schools from tax funds is increasing. Current subsidies are often granted as "aid to pupils" rather than "aid to schools," but when such benefits release funds for use in the more direct aspects of the educational program, the equivalent of direct aid has been given. The voices of those who support two school systems increasingly appeal for public recognition of their burden. They appear to be gaining substantial support.¹⁹ Even theological education is now receiving direct government subsidies.²⁰

Aid to church-related hospitals from federal and state funds also is increasing. When the Hill-Burton Act which provides federal grants for hospital construction was extended in 1958, an amendment provided for long-term, low-interest loans to hospitals operated by religious organizations conscientiously opposed to acceptance of direct government grants. Radically reduced prices for nonprofit institutions which purchase from the vast reserves of surplus food, overstocked commodities and "outmoded" equipment of government agencies also are the equivalent of government grants or subsidies to agencies which, for the most part, are church-related.

Catholic, Protestant and Jewish welfare agencies are recognized in many local community chest fund-raising activities; this is emergent vertical pluralism on the local level.

¹⁷ "The Growth of Catholic Schools," *Information Service*, XXXVII (April 19, 1958), 3-4.

¹⁸ Brooke Walker, "The Case for Christian Day Schools," *Christianity Today*, III (August 31, 1959), 11-12.

¹⁹ See Joshua A. Fishman *et al.*, "Subsidized Pluralism in American Education," *School and Society*, LXXXVII (May 23, 1959), 245-68.

²⁰ "Taxes for Theology," *Christianity Today*, III, 33.

Among conservative Protestants sphere sovereignty theology is spreading, and among American Catholics the principle of subsidiarity is receiving increasing attention. The ideological basis for vertical pluralism, even though it is not labeled as such, is thus promoted.

Efforts to uphold the separation of church and state are labeled by many religionists as secularistic with the implication that such activities are both anti-American and anti-religious. Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, for instance, issued a statement in 1948 that "separation of Church and State has become the shibboleth of doctrinaire secularism."²¹

At the 1960 national convention of the National Education Association the latently subversive effects upon the public school system of referring to public schools as "Godless institutions" were indicted by Dr. Edgar L. Morphet, Professor of Education in the University of California at Berkeley.²² The labeling of public institutions as either "Protestant" or "secular" by some Roman Catholic leaders encourages their people to establish their own separate organizations and institutions. Other religious groups are tending to do the same.²³

Many social conditions which provided the basis for the emergence of vertical pluralism in the Netherlands are present in contemporary America. The numerous differences between the two cultures and their social histories have not been described; these may hinder vertical pluralism in the United States. Foremost among the differences are the two-party political system, the lack of confessional political parties, the diversity and relative strength of religious denominations, none of which commands a near majority, and the tradition of separation of church and state. The last of these, however, is now the subject of much discussion and is experiencing major modifications as the concept of governmental functions rapidly expands.

Whether or not vertical pluralism is desirable is a question of values. Social research can help expose the costs and consequences of the various alternatives before the nation, but it cannot of itself provide the basic normative standards to determine whether American citizens ought to work for or against the establishment of an intricate system of religious compartmentalization similar to Dutch vertical pluralism. Further international comparisons can provide evidence either to support or refute the hypothesis that vertical pluralism is gradually emerging in America, but time is the ultimate test of any prediction.

²¹ E. G. Homrichausen, "Roman Catholic Strategy and the Separation Issue," *Theology Today*, XV (April, 1958), 128-30.

²² Dick Turpin, "NEA Hears Public Schools Critics Labeled 'Subversive,'" *Los Angeles Times*, July 1, 1960, Part III, p. 1.

²³ John W. Dykstra, "Parochial Divisions in American Life," *Christian Century*, LXXV (April 16, 1958), 465-67.

HERBERT HOWARTH
University of Manitoba

T. S. Eliot and the "Little Preacher"

T. S. ELIOT HAS MADE HIMSELF THE SERVANT OF MANY PUBLIC CAUSES DURING his forty-five years in Britain. I have seen him in London committee-rooms and lecture-rooms where I cannot—though my perception may be faulty—conceive that anything but a very austere sense of duty led him. When in 1953 he spoke in the city of his birth, St. Louis, Missouri, he acknowledged among his characteristics an obedience to the Law of Public Service; acknowledged it so that he might pay the tribute his audience expected to a remarkable man, by heritage a New Englander, by denization a St. Louisan—his grandfather, William Greenleaf Eliot.

From William Greenleaf Eliot the poet has inherited the practice of public duties, and much more besides: his civic conscience, his skill and his courage in polemic, the framework of his thought, something of the style, and occasionally the very themes, of his poetry.

All the Eliots of this generation were in fact brought up to remember and imitate the "little abolition preacher," and while Thomas Stearns Eliot was in his teens his mother was writing her father-in-law's biography so that they should be confirmed in the process. Published in 1904, the book begins with the dedication *Written for my children "Lest they forget."*

Nearly half a century before Walt Whitman, walking on the St. Louis levee under the harvest moon of 1879, dreamed of the American poem that would eventually be born in the city at America's hub, William Greenleaf Eliot had felt himself "directed" by inward admonition from the East to the "frontier." Fresh from the Harvard Divinity School in 1834, looking almost like a girl, a Byron without curls, impertinent, quick, keen, assured, he went to St. Louis to establish a church for the Unitarians.

It was already a wealthy city, pleasure-loving, with a hospitable elegance lent by its French origins. The sideboards, in well-furnished homes and business offices and banks, were laden with decanters and glasses. But it was a primitive city, vulnerable to distress. It had no sewers, there was water in the cellars, chills and fever everywhere, and in every poor family someone bedridden. William Greenleaf Eliot, featherweight and of subnormal health, might have seemed the last man to settle there. He settled and stayed, with the conviction that the man who would build up influence and see his ideals realized must stay in one place. He worked with the energy of a man of double his strength. He visited the poor, the sick, the prison, the asylum. The small church he founded raised \$50,000 annually for charity, his own name at the head of every subscription list. Yet to give money, he once said, is easy, and sometimes it is to buy exemption from the real giving of personal involvement. In Charlotte Eliot's narrative we see him involving himself without stint. At all times; and perhaps most in the disasters of 1849. Cholera raged in St. Louis for six months and killed one in ten. In May, while the epidemic was at its height, the levee and the steamboats took fire. Then the Mississippi overflowed. The phrase crept abroad that the plagues of Egypt were scourging St. Louis, to which WGE replied no, it was not divine anger, but the suffering that is discipline. Charlotte Eliot describes a minister's day during that protracted crisis: long vigils by the dying, three hours' sleep, then another call to the dying. When parents under his watch died, Dr. Eliot took care of their children; in August, as the cholera slackened, he counted the children for whom he had accepted some measure of responsibility; there were 26—26 besides his own 5.

How he found time among so much work I can't tell, but he read steadily, especially the German philosophers. In public addresses he continually urged a heightening of the intellectual life of the West, and the improvement of its educational facilities. His zeal helped toward the foundation of Washington University, of which he was the first President of the Board of Directors and second Chancellor. That was a fine success, but there was another which he valued more: the strengthening of the public school system. The day he was appointed a member of the School Board he deployed his capacity for action with a speed that must have surprised his fellow-councillors and the city teachers. It was early summer, and with the thermometer at 95 in the shade he walked a mile and a half to the First School Ward to visit, the beginning of a series of searching inspections. By August he was importing teachers from New England. A shrewd investor in the public interest, he purchased property for a new school. There was no school tax, and he set to work to raise

one. Fifteen years later he told a Phi Beta Kappa meeting that Missouri was "saved to the Union" not by the taking of Camp Jackson but by the 1849 decision of the St. Louis citizens to tax themselves in support of the schools.

Missouri was a slave state. WGE had arrived disposed by nature and training against the system. He realized like others, such as the young German Gabriel Woerner, that where it was benevolent it had compensations; but he also saw that, wherever it was abused, it did harm to all parties concerned. Early in his residence he looked out of his study window: a mulatto girl was hanging from a joist by her thumbs, and a man flogging her. He opened the casement and stopped him by a protest; then "I shut my book and went straight before the grand jury, then in session, and entered a complaint." The jury would not condemn because "the penalty, affixed by law, was thought to be too severe" and the flogger was a person of respectability. "Attempt was also made to invalidate my testimony as that of a sentimental young preacher who knew nothing about slavery. That was a strong point to make."

Through two decades he thought about the problem. If he spoke out for abolition in his official capacity as minister, he would be required to leave his place. There was a temptation to do that and incur the consequences. William Greenleaf Eliot's thoughts turned often to the martyrs, especially to his faith's first martyr, Stephen, whose example had perhaps led to the conversion of Saul and thus created the most powerful single force for the establishment of the church. He would have been glad to follow that precedent. "I could have returned to friends and to kindred covered with the honors of a martyr, without his losses, 'covered with glory,' and with the certainty of a good settlement. But my gain would have been the only gain." He chose the harder way, perhaps something nearer to martyrdom: he stayed in St. Louis without permitting himself to express his abolitionist persuasion from the pulpit, seeking such an accumulation of influence that when he at last spoke he would command not martyrdom but assent, or at least the attention that is given to a man who has earned trust. When the critical period of 1860 approached he made his position clear, or as clear as anything could be in the intersecting tangles of that time: on the slavery issue he stood for gradual emancipation, on the political conflict he stood for unconditional union.

Halfway through the Civil War there came on him, unforeseen but accepted as a providential responsibility, his personal fight for the freedom of Archer Alexander. He has told the story in a tiny book which he wrote at the end of his life, "at the request of my children, for the

benefit of my grandchildren," and persuaded the Boston Corner Book-store to publish. Alexander, a slave on a Missouri estate, saved a Unionist company from a trap by walking five miles through the night to warn its officer. He then returned faithfully home; but suspicion fell on him, and to save his life he escaped and, after hazards, reached St. Louis. There he met Mrs. Eliot and asked her for work. She took him to her house; and, says the writer, with a charming touch which illustrates at once the courtesy of his home and the warmth of his marriage, "She spoke to him once or twice on the way, and he gradually got courage as he looked at her, as well he might." Eliot found him duties in his grounds, studied the implications of his own action in respect of the law governing fugitive slaves, resolved that this was an exceptional case where he should defy the law if it proved necessary, but wrote to Alexander's master offering to pay the fair purchase price—so that he could set him at liberty. But the master swore angrily that he wouldn't let "that little abolition preacher" best him, and hired two men to go to St. Louis and fetch Alexander back by force.

On a pleasant March morning in 1863 the Rev. Eliot went out to Washington University with Hamilton's *Metaphysics* under his arm, "and my mind intent upon the 'law of the conditioned' and 'excluded middle,' —how to explain it to a dozen not too eager youths, especially when I only half understood it myself." At one o'clock he came home from his classes and found the household in disorder. Alexander had been kidnaped. And now Eliot tells us something that perhaps shows that, though he revered principles and dedicated all his action to them, action was his element: "without taking off my hat or waiting for dinner, I started with quick step for the provost-marshall's office; no more abstractions in my mind, nor 'law of the conditioned,' but a plain duty to rescue the captive." Which, with the help of the authorities, he did by the end of the day. He was able in due course to free Alexander, and he still looked after him with employment and assistance as long as he lived.

And it is well known how, when he was on vacation in Italy in the post-bellum years, he saw Thomas Ball's design for an "Emancipation" statue to Lincoln, and, his energies stimulated in the way customary with him, he arranged for the execution of the project, subject to one proviso, which Ball welcomed: that the features of Archer Alexander be sculpted for the slave. So today Alexander kneels in Washington, D. C., breaking his chain in Lincoln's shadow.

The persistent efficiency which carried Eliot to his objective at every stage of the Alexander story, down to the final success by which he had Ball's statue installed in the capital, is typical. A St. Louis businessman

once said that if WGE had been his partner they would have made most of the money west of the Alleghenies. But he lent his strength wholly to the enthusiasms of his beliefs. Outstandingly he used it for education, when he laid the foundations on which William T. Harris built. He used it to drive the Western Sanitary Commission in the Civil War, sharing personally in every detail of its medical relief program, from writing memoranda to the President to stringing parcels at midnight, then walking lantern in hand to his home on the city's edge. He fought for prohibition. He fought for women's franchise and education. He fought against the legalizing of prostitution; St. Louis regularized the traffic while Eliot was abroad; on return he went into action against it, for "from his knowledge," says Mrs. Eliot delightfully, "from his knowledge of the working of the system in Paris, Berlin, and all the leading cities of Europe, he knew that it did not prevent the consequences of wrong-doing, while it increased the extent of the evil"; and after four years he had the ordinance expunged from the city books.

One of his sons, Henry Ware Eliot, channeled the family energy into business. That was a rebellion. And in turn Henry Ware Eliot's son rebelled. Thomas Stearns Eliot, under his composed exterior, has been as violent a rebel as any writer in this epoch of noisier rebellions. Those early poems in which he lashes at the business life of St. Louis and kindred cities, and thus at the business energies of his father—"money in furs," "Mr. Eugenides, the Smyrna merchant," "like a silk hat on a Bradford millionaire"—give a glimpse, despite his reticence and his removal of his problems to a public plane, of tumultuous dissent. For nearly a quarter of a century he struggled further and further from his family. The rejection of his background must have begun almost at that very date when his mother completed the biography of William Greenleaf Eliot.

His grandfather had been all action. Eliot (as Pound noted) stood "deploring action"; the bent of all his polemic was to "arouse dubiety," to make men stop and reconsider. His grandfather had practiced Christian humanitarianism with all his power. Eliot belonged in theory, though it may be not in practice, to Babbitt's school, which thought humanitarianism a sentimental aberration. His grandfather had believed in liberty, and had fought for equality in America. Eliot believed, by 1928, not in liberty but in order. His grandfather had regarded the Civil War as terrible but sublime, because it gave birth to the Union; his mother called it "a struggle whose moral grandeur has never been equalled." Eliot has called it one of the disasters of history. In these things he has advertised himself as the repudiator of his family and

the WGE tradition—in all these things and especially in his choice of the right wing of the church in preference to the left wing and "Liberal Christianity." He became orthodox to establish his unorthodoxy.

But he noted once in his astute way, writing about Wells, Shaw and Bertrand Russell, that their cases were similar to his, though they had chosen to move in the opposite direction. In what particular were they essentially similar? *L'on porte partout le cadavre de son grand-père.* They dragged their grandfathers' corpses to the Fabian Society and the London School of Economics. He carried Dr. Eliot's to Canterbury.

The longer he has lived, and the more versatile his poetry has grown and the more supple his polemic, and the more his influence has increased, and the more persistently his commentary has sapped at the basis of our assumptions, which he thinks fallacious—the more he resembles, for all his revolt, the grandfather he never saw.

He has a trace of his grandfather's frailty (he was rejected by the American Navy physicians when he volunteered for service in 1917), and shares the tenacity and capacity for work that counterpoint it. He shares his grandfather's administrative skill; he applied it in his early work for Lloyd's Bank, and for over thirty years, and still, as a Director of Geoffrey Faber's distinguished publishing house. Those who have worked with him on public committees report the practicality with which he has steered the deliberations (and the errancy of committees unless a practical mind holds them is notorious). He shares his grandfather's concern with education, as the pages of *The Criterion* witness. He shares his concern with social questions. When he first worked in England, and was most irritably, because least consciously, in revolt against his tradition, he nonetheless followed a family folkway: the Eliots had fought for two generations already for women's rights, so he associated with *The Egoist*, a periodical run by ladies and linked with the movement for women's suffrage. In an early article in *The International Journal of Ethics* he discussed the then urgent issue of the control of wartime prostitution and disease—thus inheriting another question that had agitated his grandfather. He has constantly worked, like his grandfather, and like his minister uncle, Thomas Lamb Eliot of Oregon, by imposing on his passions the discipline of ascertaining and stating and applying his principles; the order of his essays, critical and social alike, is a philosophic order. Above all, he has consistently believed, like his grandfather, that it is his business to create or correct public opinion.

Even in the matters over which he most demonstrably reacted against his grandfather, his reaction has flourished from a germ of his grandfather's thought. In politics he was hostile to the Federal ethos his grand-

father loved so deeply, and he became a critic of democracy; yet at least one term of his criticism grew from his grandfather, who doubted the wisdom of a vote for everybody and would have preferred to restrict the suffrage to the educated. He fled from the liberal to a rightwing church, but in that, too, and in his lifelong passion for ritual, he had a signpost in William Greenleaf Eliot's reverence for the ceremonies of baptism and the Lord's Supper. Dr. Eliot considered the communion table, wrote Charlotte Eliot, "the centre of the religious life of a church."

Certainly the poet's long meditation on martyrdom, out of which he has made *Murder in the Cathedral* and *The Cocktail Party*, is a legacy of his family. We have glimpsed WGE's successful struggle against easy martyrdom, not wholly unlike Becket's more complicated struggle, and his fervor for Stephen, whose name Becket recalls to his congregation on Christmas Morning 1170. Thomas Lamb Eliot also thought repeatedly of the martyrs. In Geneva during a European holiday of 1882, he spent his time searching for the Place Champel that he might rehearse the death there of Servetus, the Spanish Protestant martyred by Calvin. When he had at last reached the square but found not even a plaque to commemorate the stake, he dreamed of a statue he would put there if he could, "so costly, so significant, so prophetic, that not a traveller but shall visit it . . ." That commemoration, though dedicated not to one but to all the martyrs, was in a manner erected by T. S. Eliot in poem and drama. T. S. Eliot dwelled on martyrdom as his grandfather and uncle had dwelled on it, but more daringly, aspiring to martyrdom and sainthood, and the more intensely as his outer life, secular and world-rewarded, seemed the further from it. I say *seemed*. We cannot tell what mortification, what hairshirt like Sir Thomas More's, or what metaphorical shirt of flame, biography will eventually reveal he has worn.

When Eliot is asked to point to his most successful poetry, he selects his sea-poetry. The responsiveness to the rhythms, the moods, the suggestions of the sea that led to those passages, is another link with his grandfather, who "was apparently never weary of watching the changing aspects of ocean," who took his family for vacations to the New England beaches, and who regretted that the last summer of his life was spent in the mountains: "Oh, I so longed for the seashore." Do we not begin to glimpse William Greenleaf Eliot behind what Eliot has made? Perhaps we can distinguish the colors of his mind in the poems; and discover him as a dramatis persona in the poems; and recognize him as a precursor of the technician of the poems.

Not that Eliot's literary skill comes from him alone. On the contrary, it looks as if fine talents flowed to the twentieth-century poet by diverse

hereditary routes—talents fine, none of them supreme, but the combination of them in him supreme. Skill came to him directly from his mother, who wrote the poetic play *Savonarola* which he eventually published for her, and whose biography of his grandfather, which Houghton Mifflin should reprint, is written with a restraint that gives it an earnest beauty. Another stream of talent flowed through Mrs. William Greenleaf Eliot, whose father was a cousin of John Quincy Adams. But the clearest line of literary descent goes back to Dr. Eliot.

Dr. Eliot's contemporaries had noted the "literary finish" of everything he wrote, and said that "had he so chosen, he might have succeeded as an author." His style was pure of embellishment. Kinder than Ben Jonson's, his writing was as clear as Jonson's, needing no adjectives. Grandiloquence amused him in others; he would not use it. T. S. Eliot has made a point of struggling for the "transparent style," but he has always had it, the essentials of it were bred in him; his struggle has really been to lift to a higher level and apply to harder purposes (and that was so strenuous that it seemed like a process of pioneering, not of reconstruction) his grandfather's gift of transparency. His grandfather had received the naked style as a legacy from his own grandfather, Colonel Thomas Dawes, who had brought "the Greek simplicity" to the architecture of New England.

The unexpected thing is that, besides the chastity of his style and his Greek sense of proportion, Dr. Eliot also handed down to Eliot the sprightliness of his comic poetry. *The Story of Archer Alexander* is alive with mimicry of regional voices and dialogue. "I tell you how we can fix it, short metre," says Colonel Jones, squeezing a slave out of his miserable debtor, Parson Delaney.

You just give me a bill of sale for that nigger Aleck out there, and it's done. He's a sassy boy and will get you into a big scrape some day; and you'd better get shet of him, anyway, for your own good and for the good of the country. There now, parson, the way I look at it, your religion and your pocket are on the same side. What do you say? But one thing's sure: money or its equiv-a-lent I'm a-going to have, down on the nail. There ain't no two ways about that.

Between the art of the pulpit and the art of the theater comparisons have often been drawn. Every good preacher must have, or acquire, an audience-sense. It is clear that WGE had it, and T. S. Eliot, receiving it from him, was dramatizing even in the earliest poems.

I have called William Greenleaf Eliot one of the poet's *dramatis personae*. There is a poem which describes him and his fifty years of humane

work in St. Louis. Shortly before 1926 Eliot read his mother's play, *Savonarola*, and arranged its publication and added a preface to it. I feel sure that about the same time he read her biography of William Greenleaf Eliot. Moved, as every reader, even those of us who are detached, must be, by the story it tells, he was especially seized by the last episode. In the summer of 1886, on his seventy-sixth birthday, Dr. Eliot wrote a poem, *Nunc Dimittis*, a gentle petition for release from the effort of life:

Fain would I breathe that gracious word,
Now lettest thou thy servant, Lord,
 Depart in peace.
When may I humbly claim that kind award,
 And cares and labors cease?
With anxious heart I watch at heaven's gate—
 Answer to hear;
With failing strength I feel the increasing weight
 Of every passing year.
Hath not the time yet fully come, dear Lord,
 Thy servant to release?

He died at Pass Christian, Mississippi, next January when the Roman hyacinths were blooming in bowls in the warmth. Deeply stirred by these last pages of his mother's book, Eliot found himself in possession of two interlocking experiences, one public and traditional, the other private, and the one an "objective correlative" of the other. He wrote a poem dramatizing the Simeon of the two-thousand-years tradition who prayed "Nunc dimittis." The *Song for Simeon* is also, and he knew it and intended it so, a record of his grandfather, and a motion of homage and love toward him:

I have walked many years in this city,
Kept faith and fast, provided for the poor,
Have given and taken honour and ease.
There went never any rejected from my door.

And that is an even better summary of William Greenleaf Eliot's life than the words on the monument in St. Louis,

The whole city was his parish
 and
Every soul needing him a parishioner

though they are fitting too.

Notes

American Perspectives*

THIS VOLUME OF TEN ESSAYS, PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE American Studies Association, had its inception in a memorandum penned in December, 1954, by Dr. Waldo G. Leland. Aware that plans for the Library of Congress series in twentieth-century American civilization were nearing completion, Dr. Leland proposed the addition of two interpretative studies, one bearing on the theme "Towards Self-Understanding," the second on the concept "Towards International Understanding." Both would be prepared by teams of experts in the various aspects of civilization explored in the Library of Congress series, and would attempt to show "how American self-appraisal and self-study have been consciously attempted and organized." In effect, these volumes would seek answers to two questions: "What do we think of ourselves?" and "What do others think of us?"

The second of these projected volumes has yet to materialize, but preparation of the first began soon after Dr. Leland penned his memorandum. The American Studies Association was asked to assume responsibility for its production by the Library of Congress; the Association named Professor Robert E. Spiller of the University of Pennsylvania and Eric Larrabee, managing editor of *American Heritage*, as co-editors, and chose as a tentative title *The Image of America in the Twentieth Century*. The editors and the authors selected by them began their collaboration with a conference in which purposes were defined. During the preparation of the volume authors and editors conferred frequently and exchanged both ideas and criticism of manuscripts.

The result is a compact volume containing a brief introduction and ten essays: "History and the American Past" by Ralph H. Gabriel, "Pragmatism and the Scope of Science" by Morton White, "Literature and the Critics" by Robert E. Spiller, "Music and Musicians" by Edward N. Waters, "Painting and Sculpture" by Lloyd Goodrich, "The Social Scientists" by Thomas C. Cochran, "The Public Image of American Economic Institutions" by Kenneth E. Boulding, "The Public Image:

* Robert E. Spiller and Eric Larrabee, eds., *American Perspectives: The National Self-Image in the Twentieth Century*. vii; 216 pp. Harvard University Press, 1961. \$4.75.

"Politics" by John M. Blum, "The Discovery of the Popular Culture" by Reuel Denney and "The Doctrine of Mass Production" by Eric Larrabee.

The original intention of the editors was to provide a concluding essay that would reveal the total image of the national character as reflected in these varied facets of its culture. They found, however, that a unified concept did not emerge; to draw any general conclusions would "impose on the essays a degree of unity which they had not in themselves developed." The individual contributions reveal, as the editors note in their introduction, that the first fifteen years of the present century were characterized by a tendency to reject traditional norms, that the interval between the two wars witnessed the release of new cultural energies, and that in more recent years Americans have attempted to hold on to some cohesive image of their land at the same time that their imaginations have soared beyond the national borders. Rather than emphasizing these generalizations, the editors conclude that "this book must be considered a conversation among students of the American image, in all its variety" rather than a "scientific study of culture and imagination."

Documentation accompanying each essay provides a brief bibliography of specialized works, and an index concludes the volume.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON, *Northwestern University*

The *New Republic* as Little Magazine

GIVING THE LITTLE MAGAZINES THEIR DUE IN THE LITERARY RENAISSANCE of the present century has obscured the role played by the liberal weeklies in that phenomenon. The *New Republic*, for example, although primarily a journal of political and social comment and therefore significantly different from the little magazines, maintained under Francis Hackett (literary editor, 1914-22) a flourishing literary department, which engaged actively in the controversy over imagism, gave extensive space to poetry, fiction and criticism, and through reviews and articles commented fully on the state of the theater. It demanded good writing on serious matters while trying to reach a wider audience than the esoteric little magazines could command. It was able to do this because, like the little magazines, it was free from commercial influence. It never showed a profit, nor did it need to, for it was backed by the wealth of Willard Straight and his wife, Dorothy, daughter of William Collins Whitney, Secretary of State under Cleveland and a utilities magnate.

One way to measure the stature of the *New Republic* as a literary journal, to cast it in the role of little magazine, is to inspect the list of writers which it introduced to print. Writers will contribute to magazines which they think will accept them and pay them and/or to magazines whose acceptance will help establish or further their reputations. According to Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant,¹ a contributor to the *New Republic* in its early days, the magazine paid better than the established rate of one cent a word. As a leading voice of progressivism edited by one of the ablest groups of writers and publicists ever gathered together at one time,² the magazine played an important part in the intellectual life of the times. Founded by Herbert Croly, its original editorial board consisted of Walter Lippmann, Walter Weyl, Francis Hackett and Philip Littell, who were joined very soon after the first issue by Alvin Johnson, Charles Merz and George Soule. Randolph Bourne, George Santayana, Amy Lowell, Louis Untermeyer, Padraic Colum were all frequent contributors in the early years. As an influential journal from its beginning it succeeded in attracting many new writers. It was in fact more successful in introducing new writers into print than any little magazine of the twentieth century.

Some years ago a study by Charles Allen showed that 80 per cent of a list of one hundred post-1912 writers were introduced by little magazines.³ Five writers of the 20 per cent *not* introduced by little magazines appeared first in the *New Republic* (misclassified by Allen as a "commercial" magazine). The five writers were Maxwell Anderson, Stephen Vincent Benét, Louise Bogan, John Dos Passos and Paul Rosenfeld.

Maxwell Anderson's first published piece was a poem, "Sic Semper," in the September 8, 1917 issue (p. 159). The poem attracted the attention of Alvin Johnson, who described it in his autobiography as a "poem of exultation over the fall of the age-old oppressive dynasties of Russia, Germany, and Austria [breathing] the spirit of the Peasant Revolts and the storming of the Bastille."⁴ Some time later when the magazine was recruiting assistant editors Johnson remembered the poem and secured for its author a place on the staff. Anderson worked for the magazine for about a year, writing mostly drama and book reviews, before his aggressive Western liberalism led Croly, the sophisticated Eastern liberal editor, to contrive Anderson's removal from the staff.⁵

¹ Interview with author, June 8, 1959.

² See George F. Kennan, "Walter Lippmann, the *New Republic*, and the Russian Revolution," in *Walter Lippmann and His Times*, eds. James Reston and Marquis Childs (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1959), p. 38.

³ "The Advance Guard," *Sewanee Review*, LI (Autumn, 1943), 410-29.

⁴ *Pioneer's Progress* (New York: Viking Press, 1952), p. 272.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Benét was still a high-school senior when his "Winged Man" appeared in the August 7, 1915 issue (p. 20), earning him \$15 for his first professional appearance.⁶ Benét continued to publish in the magazine, especially in the twenties. Louise Bogan appeared first with the poem, "Decorations," August 24, 1921 (p. 357). She too continued to publish her poetry in the magazine and subsequently became a regular poetry reviewer for it. Dos Passos' first work was an essay, "Against American Literature," in the October 14, 1916 issue (pp. 269-71). Like Van Wyck Brooks, Dos Passos decried the pallidness of most American literature. "I defy anyone," he said, "to confine himself for long to purely American books without feeling starved, without pining for the color and passion and profound thought of other literature."⁷ Francis Hackett and Randolph Bourne echoed these sentiments from time to time in their own reviews and articles.⁸ Rosenfeld's entry as a writer for the *New Republic* came as a result of a letter to the editor which appeared January 22, 1916 (p. 307). George Soule set upon Rosenfeld's trail⁹ and three months later Rosenfeld's first professional article, "The Tragedy of Gustav Mahler," appeared.¹⁰ From that time until 1941 Rosenfeld wrote more or less regularly for the magazine on both music and literature.

Another writer on Allen's list who should have been included among the *New Republic* "firsts" is William Faulkner, incorrectly attributed by Allen to the *Double Dealer*. Actually, Faulkner's first published piece was a poem, "L'Après-Midi d'un Faun," in the August 6, 1919 issue (p. 24).¹¹ Thus from Allen's list alone the *New Republic* published six new writers as compared with *Poetry*'s five (perhaps seven, since two writers were uncertain where their first writing was published) and the *Double Dealer*'s four. By this count then the *New Republic* was a leading magazine in introducing new talent.

But Allen's list of a hundred post-1912 writers is inevitably somewhat arbitrary. It could also have included Leonie Adams, S. N. Behrman, Robert Coates, Robert Hillyer and Sidney Howard, all of whom appeared for the first time professionally in the *New Republic*. Leonie Adams published her first poem, "Apostate," August 31, 1921 (p. 17), while

⁶ Charles Fenton, *Stephen Vincent Benét* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1958), pp. 37-38.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁸ Typical expressions of this view are Hackett, "After the Play," X (February 3, 1917), 23; "Creative America," XVI (September 28, 1918), 261-62; Bourne, "Theodore Dreiser," II (April 17, 1915), 7-8 and "The American Adventure," XII (October 20, 1917), 333-34.

⁹ Letter to the present writer, August 23, 1958.

¹⁰ VI (April 8, 1916), 265-66.

¹¹ See William Van O'Connor, *The Tangled Fire of William Faulkner* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956), pp. 16-17.

still an undergraduate at Barnard.¹² It appeared only a week after Louise Bogan's first poem. Like Miss Bogan, Leonie Adams continued to publish in the *New Republic* until the end of the twenties when she ceased to publish poetry for a number of years. Robert Coates, now a writer of fiction and art editor of the *New Yorker*, made his first appearance in print with a poem, "The Musicale: To A. H.," June 7, 1919 (p. 180). Coates was also an undergraduate at the time. Another poem by him appeared several months later after which he became an expatriate and turned to writing fiction.¹³ Robert Hillyer was, like Dos Passos, a Harvard undergraduate when his first work appeared professionally. Hillyer's sonnet, "To a Scarlatti Passepied," appeared February 26, 1916 (pp. 106-7) and he and Dos Passos splurged in Boston on the check he received.¹⁴ Hillyer's poems continued to appear regularly until 1924. Sidney Howard's first professional writing was as a reporter rather than as an artist. Seven articles during the spring of 1921 on "The Labor Spy" were apparently bread and butter work while he prepared his first play, *Swords*, which was staged later the same year. S. N. Behrman's first piece was an essay, "Movie Morals," in the August 12, 1917 issue (pp. 100-1), which kidded the movies for their penchant for happy endings and other perversions of realism. Another essay, "The Advertising Man,"¹⁵ was a commentary on a new god spawned by the business community. Behrman also wrote book reviews for the magazine.

Morton Zabel, one of the few critics who seems to have recognized the part played by the liberal journals in the twentieth-century literary revival, credits the literary departments of the *New Republic* and the *Nation* with as significant a part in the critical awakening as that played by the little magazines themselves.¹⁶ The present study suggests another important way in which the *New Republic* encouraged the new writing. Not only did it pay it critical attention, as Zabel states, but it gave a large number of authors their first printing as well as continuing to serve as an outlet for their later writing.

GEORGE A. TEST, *State University College of Education, Oneonta, N. Y.*

¹² *Contemporary American Authors*, ed. Fred B. Millet (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940), p. 212.

¹³ *Twentieth Century Authors*, eds. Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1942), p. 290.

¹⁴ Kunitz and Haycraft, *ibid.*, p. 652.

¹⁵ XX (August 20, 1919), 84-86.

¹⁶ Morton Zabel, *Literary Opinion in America* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1937), p. vii.

Reviews

Conducted by Jane Knowles

The Perils of Progress*

NOWHERE is the belief in human progress more pathetically evident than in certain histories of historiography. With a simple faith that he is likely to mistake for sophistication, the modern American historian too often assumes that his craft has developed from uncritical innocence to a flourishing professional awareness. Thus American historiography begins with Bradford the plain Pilgrim, survives Cotton Mather the credulous pedant, and rises to the grand but uncritical heights of the mid-nineteenth-century epics; suddenly, then, through the pride of local antiquarians and the Germanic seminars of cosmopolitan Ph.D.'s, the guild learns to use professional standards—learns above all to be critical of texts and documents. For this blessing even the temporary folly of "scientism" is considered a reasonable price, and the astonishing logical errors of Frederick Jackson Turner and Charles A. Beard can also be viewed complacently, because the gift of awareness takes us beyond the tyranny of relativism itself. According to Harvey Wish, a major reason for continuing to believe "in a reasonable idea of 'objectivity'" seems to be the superior critical standards of our time: "the mid-twentieth century," he declares, "shows a more sophisticated historian, much more self-critical and therefore more fully aware of the subjective factors in the writing of history. He knows that it is very difficult indeed to escape the context of his world of social action."

Now, although Mr. Wish "shows" some of the ideas of many modern historians, he does not show that any modern historian brings critical awareness of subjectivity an inch beyond the ultimate criticisms which Washington Irving expressed through Diedrich Knickerbocker more than 150 years ago. But even if one accepts Mr. Wish's comforting evaluation, one must recognize the great dangers that it adds to the already perilous task of writing the history of American historiography. It tempts the historian to assume that people really didn't know very much a century

* Harvey Wish, *The American Historian: A Social-Intellectual History of the Writing of the American Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960); David D. Van Tassel, *Recording America's Past: An Interpretation of the Development of Historical Studies in America, 1607-1884* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); Lee Benson, *Turner and Beard: American Historical Writing Reconsidered* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960).

or two ago; to treat earlier historiography chiefly as a preparation (or provocation) for current historiography; to mistake increased and more intricate activity for progress; to accept as factual the rebels' caricature of the old order, and to believe their denial that they owed it any debt. Each of the books under review contains some evidence that its author struggled conscientiously, but all the authors embrace, and two of them wallow in, temptation.

Lee Benson's *Turner and Beard* is not seriously damaged by these temptations, but the nature of his important achievement makes his one indulgence noteworthy. Mr. Benson has done some brilliant work, both here and in a recent essay in the journal *History and Theory*, that ought to make every scholar who uses historical methods re-examine his own assumptions about cause and effect. Not only has he demonstrated that Turner and Beard committed logical errors as rudimentary as any that have been charged against the historical theories of George Bancroft or Cotton Mather; in re-interpreting Beard's *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* so that the hypothesis might be worthy of serious and valid testing, he also focuses intently on misreadings of Beard that he attributes to Beard's most thorough critics. Two of the major questions in the controversy are whether Beard knew how to read the unambiguous language of E. R. A. Seligman and whether Beard and his critics knew how to read the unanimously admired exposition of James Madison's most famous *Federalist* paper; a third question is whether Beard's critics can read Beard's exposition.

Here, then, is no nonsense about the descent of "the critical spirit" during a Great Historical Awakening before which documents were merely skimmed and after which they were read critically. Mr. Benson recognizes that accurate reading is always a difficult task and that one ought to read for oneself. Yet there is one occasion on which he forgets his own lesson: he treats Beard's version of previous historians as a perfectly accurate version! Therefore, when he approvingly expounds Irving Brant's recent emphasis on both the patriotic and the economic motives of Madison and the other Founders, he does not perceive that, Providential theory excepted, Brant is closer to Bancroft than to Beard. Pre-Beardian theory enters Mr. Benson's book only in caricature: as the belief that the Founders' ideas sprang "from the nowhere of abstraction into the here of the United States, 1787" and as "the myth of a Constitution written by moral supermen in an economic vacuum." This kind of description was defensible in Beard's polemical introduction, which dealt primarily with theories of ultimate cause and called for a new emphasis; it has no place in sober history.

Mr. Benson, at least, argues from an intensive reading of the two or three chief works on which his book is based. The progressive temptation becomes truly pathetic when the historian who indulges it is not only telling the kind of story that I have sketched in my first paragraph, but bases a good portion of it on an uncritical reading of secondary accounts. David D. Van Tassel announces in his preface that because "my concern is with trends and causes, I have not attempted to analyze the work of any single historian unless it might explain or illustrate a trend." He forgets that establishing trends requires a thorough reading of the individual histories, and some of his trends are therefore no better than the readers on whom he relies. He offsets his useful work on local historical societies and the activities of pioneer local historians by oversimplifying the motives of colonial historians and by perpetuating the myth that Bancroft, Prescott, Motley and Irving were "uncritical" of the documents they used. He "absolves" Francis Parkman of "any large debt" to these worthies, and he suggests that it may have been "contact with rules of law" that gave Parkman "a greater respect for the use and testing of evidence than his illustrious predecessors displayed." Even if Irving, Prescott and Motley had not had as much legal training as Parkman, these assumptions would be untenable. Every one of these men had immense respect for the use and testing of evidence, and so did the maligned George Bancroft despite his unpardonably sinful belief that Providence controls history.

Bancroft criticized Jared Sparks for "father[ing] upon Franklin a red line that had nothing whatever to do with the [Canadian boundary] question," and he declared that the historian could reduce historical truth to a "science" by resolving to "compare document with document"; one had to get the facts straight before one could relate them to the appropriate general laws governing human affairs. Ten years earlier than the "local" historian whom Mr. Van Tassel credits with correcting the story of Bunker Hill, Bancroft had worked out an accurate version and had submitted it for the criticism of Judge William Prescott, the Bunker Hill commander. He continued to revise his history, and to seek corrections, until he was 85. At 82, moreover, he not only completed the last of his original historical works but found time, energy, interest and facts to rebuke young Dr. Henry Cabot Lodge for writing a biography of Alexander Hamilton that was based on slovenly research.

These facts are not difficult to come by, nor is similar evidence about the other historians of the group, from Irving's acute reading of Increase Mather's *Indian Wars* to Motley's withering analyses of the letters of Philip II. But Mr. Van Tassel's trends call for the correction of these

grand romantics by local historians who represent the critical spirit, and he devotes almost the whole of his three pages on Bancroft's *History of the United States* to recounting admittedly prejudiced complaints by some southerners and a Pennsylvanian. Although he lists Prescott's two most famous histories in his bibliography, he approves a contemporary "local" historian's judgment that Prescott uncritically accepted the sixteenth-century Spanish view of the conquest of Mexico.

The same sort of error persists even in the work of a historian who claims to have read "the representative writers in American historiography" and to have "concentrated upon the actual books of the central figures." Mr. Wish regrets, for example, that Bancroft's patriotic, ideologically motivated "common man is an abstraction rather than a person of flesh and blood," but he implies that recognition of "economic interests" would have constituted incarnation, and he seems unaware that economic man is also an abstraction. He supplies the Turner thesis with a "scientific" basis by quoting the geographer Friedrich Ratzel's assertion that "The breadth of land has furnished the American spirit some of its own largeness"; he does not remember here that not only Bancroft, but Crèvecoeur and Thomas Paine before him, had expressed the same belief.

Mr. Wish's "social-intellectual history" sweeps over so much material that it is often incoherent, superficial and inaccurate. Attempts to mix a dash of psychological and intellectual experience into the account of historical writing sometimes commit him to ideas of historical cause that seem much more simple and less satisfactory than Cotton Mather's. Midwestern, and preferably rural, birth has especial importance. Allan Nevins is "the hard-working son of an Illinois farmer," and Mr. Wish recalls this fact to explain what he calls the "visual" language in a description of Henry Ford's childhood on the farm; the passage, however, could easily have been written by Oscar Handlin, a city boy "of Jewish immigrant extraction," whose industriousness is not discussed. In the same way, Mr. Wish says that "Carl Lotus Becker" came "out of the progressive Middle West of Beard, Turner, and Parrington"; but he ignores the origin of Perry Gilbert Eddy Miller, a native Midwesterner who was trained at the University of Chicago. Perhaps Mr. Miller came from a different Middle West, for in this book his "cultural nationalism" is mixed indistinguishably with that of other Harvard "revisionists."

These details reflect an uncertainty of purpose and judgment that throws the entire book out of focus. Mr. Wish has trouble deciding whether to emphasize narrative or analysis, and he never establishes a clear basis for the vague judgments that he pronounces. "Parkman," he

says, "was far from objective in judgment, for he revealed his social values throughout [*Pioneers of France in the New World*.]" Since it seems clear that the most objective judge of social action would have to refer to his own social values, one wonders what Mr. Wish's standards are. He declares that "Parrington had much to say of worth even" to the 1960's, that Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* "is still not without some value," and that "the most informative section" of John Fiske's *New France and New England* "dealt with the Salem witchcraft craze"; but he does not specify Parrington's or Mather's current value, or the kind of information that Fiske gave. Even in his long essay on Allan Nevins he expends valuable space to record what "the reviewers" said about Mr. Nevins' books. Objectivity here approaches other-directedness, and it can lead to plain self-contradiction. On one page Mr. Wish writes that our revived interest in the historical importance of ideas has recently allowed George Bancroft's "revolutionary synthesis" to regain "some of its vitality"; subsequently, however, he pronounces Bancroft, and all the other "literary historians" except Parkman, "quite dead."

The number of factual errors in this book is unusually large even for so grand a subject. Bradford and the *Mayflower* sail a year late, and two conflicting sets of dates are given for Bradford's governorship. H. H. Bancroft dies in 1918 on one page, and in 1919 on the next. Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*, which was written and published after the last Salem witch had been executed, furnishes "dangerous ammunition for the witchhunters of Salem and elsewhere." Jared Sparks writes, although actually he only edited, "entire libraries of history books and biographies, but most of these are now forgotten." Francis Parkman is inspired while still in college by the "brilliant careers of history" that Motley, Hildreth and Palfrey did not even begin until five to fifteen years later. Washington Irving refuses to "permit his sentimentality for the Indians to divert him into showing the actual grievances of the redskins."

If anyone does attempt another history of American historiography, he will be wise to resist the assumption that pre-"scientific" historians were uncritical and to investigate instead the ways in which they were and were not critical; to look, as Mr. Van Tassel has only begun to do, for evidence that the cleavage between historians of 1850 and historians of 1900 was far from absolute; to concede George Bancroft's piety in a paragraph and then concentrate on his actual use of evidence from this world; to abandon the assumption that Cotton Mather's Greek quotations get in the way of the narrative, and discuss instead their meaning

and their function. The historian should deny that any excellent history can ever be completely superseded. A critical reading of *Magnalia Christi Americana*, *The Conquest of Mexico*, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Bancroft's *History of the United States* or Adams' *History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison* will tell us more about American or Latin-American history than any of the books discussed in this review.

DAVID LEVIN, *Stanford University*

CHILTON WILLIAMSON, *American Suffrage from Property to Democracy 1760-1860*. x, 306 pp. Princeton University Press, 1960. \$6.00.

As a new synthesis of American suffrage maturation, with a well-written, footnote-accompanied text, Professor Williamson's book ought to please survey instructors in history, government, economics and sociology. Now we have a useful treatment of emergent voting, for this author ranges widely through the century before Lincoln's election.

After measuring English impacts upon colonial suffrage, Mr. Williamson offers his central insight while appraising the Revolutionary era: "The period leading up to the Revolution, as well as the Revolution itself, was the turning point in the conscious democratization of ideas about the suffrage and in the actual liberalization of colonial suffrage laws" (p. 78). This evaluation conjoins America's unique socio-economic context with the widely entertained natural rights philosophy. The study's final half roams the ante-bellum scene, observing both in regions and in significant states the completion of Revolutionary beginnings. Trends in voting procedure as well as conflicts between electoral theories are described.

The demands of brevity do not inhibit fresh speculation, as when Williamson wonders if Frederick Jackson Turner put "the western cart before the eastern horse" (p. 208). Here Williamson contends that eastern property qualifications declined for reasons totally apart from western factors. But such insights are stated briefly, for his confines permit Mr. Williamson only to hint at what the sources and unpublished scholarship may ultimately combine to show.

Perhaps the real achievement of this book will be renewed investigation of American suffrage, an unexhausted subject as Professor Williamson has demonstrated.

PAUL C. NAGEL, *Eastern Kentucky State College*

LEONARD W. LEVY, *Legacy of Suppression: Freedom of Speech and Press in Early American History*. xv, 353 pp. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960. \$6.50.

By common consent among American historians, the First Amendment ("Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press") abolished the common law of seditious libel in the United States. Justices Holmes, Brandeis, Black and Douglas concur. Professor Levy, putting his sense of responsibility as a historian ahead of his personal libertarian predilections, regretfully dissents. He argues his revisionist case so exhaustively and so convincingly that one feels sure the textbooks will have to be altered. Whatever we may wish to believe, we can no longer blink the fact that, down to the very end of the eighteenth century, Americans (and Englishmen), almost without exception, held with Blackstone that freedom of the press consisted simply in government's "laying no *previous* restraints upon publication," and that "the disseminating . . . of bad sentiments, destructive of the ends of society" was a crime in the eyes of the law.

Professor Levy casts his net wide and considers all the relevant evidence from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theoretical treatises and court records without bringing to view a single unambiguous instance of departure from the Blackstonian dictum, although the authors of *Cato's Letters* (1720) and the pseudonymous "Father of Candor" (1764), he admits, came close. In the famous Zenger trial of 1735, Andrew Hamilton argued effectively—though Levy gives most of the credit to James Alexander—that truth was a defense in libel cases, but his arguments fell on deaf ears outside that particular New York courtroom; and truth as a defense, even when admitted, turned out to be a frail reed, since the truth of opinions is not susceptible of proof. Nothing in the record of the debates in Congress or the discussions outside Congress when the Bill of Rights was adopted suggests the modern view that speech should be wholly free, whatever its tendency. Only after 1798, in the controversy over the Sedition Act, do the first glimmerings of the modern theory emerge in America. The Framers of the First Amendment, it seems clear, did not mean what we mean by freedom of speech and press. With the remark "That they were Blackstonians does not mean that we cannot be Brandeisians," Mr. Levy, Professor of History at Brandeis University, rests his case. The burden of proof is now upon those who hold the contrary.

FREDERICK B. TOLLES, *Swarthmore College*

MERRILL D. PETERSON, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind.* x, 548 pp. Oxford University Press, 1960. \$8.50.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, more than any other figure in our past, has left an indelible mark on the American mind. But "the Sage of Monticello" was such a complex individual, "such a baffling series of contradictions" that he has frequently meant all things to all men and his thought has been understood in fragments rather than in the whole.

Professor Peterson, in this volume, attempts to show what Jefferson has meant to Americans from his death in 1826 down to the present, and he has accomplished his task brilliantly. In pursuing this image of Jefferson, the author shows that through our nation's history it has always paralleled the political thought of the time. Depending on the period, Jefferson's ideas were used or attacked and, on occasion, employed by both sides to bolster their particular point of view. The elusive Virginian has been pictured as a nationalist, an advocate of states' rights, an imperialist and a symbol of democratic liberalism. Finally, today the image of Jefferson has almost surmounted partisan politics, and he has become the American prototype of the universal man, the defender of human rights.

But more important is the fact that in the search for a clear picture of Jefferson, America was also searching to identify itself. Consequently this provocative book not only clarifies Jefferson, but it also gives a clearer image of America.

EMORY G. EVANS, *University of Pittsburgh*

DANIEL H. CALHOUN, *The American Civil Engineer: Origins and Conflict.* xiv, 199 pp. Harvard University Press, 1960.

THE great importance of the engineer in today's America obscures the historical recency of such social significance. Calhoun's exhaustively researched study documents the rise of the profession in the United States through the 1840's and demonstrates that the conventional view of the nineteenth-century engineer as a staunchly independent individualist is mostly nostalgic. The proprietary-managerial interests which originally led some men into engineering activities soon reclaimed their own as salaried professionals whose bureaucratic status sometimes offended the democratic instincts of other Americans. Calhoun discusses the major task of creating a supply of engineers—he estimates a total of 30 in any single year before 1816—and stresses the importance of West Point, the earliest technical schools, and especially of on-the-job experi-

ence in internal improvement projects, notably canals and railroads, in meeting the need. He examines closely the changing nature of the tasks assigned engineers to discover their evolving professional and social status. The reluctance of practical-minded Americans to recognize the special advantages of expert supervision yielded by 1836 to acceptance of the engineer as a useful link in entrepreneurial organization rather than as one pretending professional independence akin to that of law and medicine. Nearly one-third of Calhoun's book is devoted to reference material and notes useful to other investigators.

HUGO A. MEIER, *Carnegie Institute of Technology*

CHARLES I. FOSTER, *An Errand of Mercy, The Evangelical United Front 1790-1837*. x, 320 pp. University of North Carolina Press, 1960. \$6.50.

THIS study is concerned with the "ideological warfare" of British and American Evangelical Protestants against the impact of the French Revolution. Personified in England by William Wilberforce and in America by Lyman Beecher, the "united front" of these Christians functioned through clergy-assisted religious societies under lay leadership and control. In greater degree than the parent group, the American front strove to overcome spiritual destitution—in the growing cities and on the frontier in the great Valley of the Mississippi. On both sides of the Atlantic the Evangelicals sought to find a place for Christian political ideals in societies becoming progressively secular.

Principally interested in the inner workings of the religious societies, the author, Professor of Social Studies in North Carolina State College, shows that in their "promotional" action they anticipated the "big business" techniques of a later day. The societies monopolized the sale and distribution of religious literature through cut-rate prices, paid agents, house-to-house visitation and innumerable religious meetings on all levels—community, State and national. Foster suggests that the united front's incessant indoctrination prepared the people to accept the public school system while its house-to-house visitors foreshadowed modern professional social workers.

The united front did not survive the enhanced denominational consciousness of the 1830's and the fear that Christians united might gain control of party politics. But its conviction that democracy must rest on a religious base has become part of the national heritage. While the author is preoccupied with the American scene, he well utilizes the British background not alone for origins but also for purposes of comparison and clarifying analysis—distinguishing features of the book.

Dedicated to the senior Schlesinger, the work in style and thoroughness displays indeed the "purifying chastisement" of that scholar's "literary woodshed."

AARON I. ABELL, *University of Notre Dame*

ANNE M. SPRINGER. *The American Novel in Germany*. 116 pp. Cram, de Gruyter and Company, Hamburg, 1960.

ANNE M. SPRINGER has investigated German reception, *entre-deux-guerres*, of Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser, John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner and Thomas Wolfe. Interest in "news from the New World" existed in the nineteenth century but only after World War I did America impress Germans as having a distinctive literature. London and Sinclair were popular until the Nazis, London as a socialist storyteller thundering New World vitality in all sectors, Sinclair prevailing in more strictly political circles.

Sinclair Lewis, first major competitor with London and Sinclair after World War I, appealed more to *avant-garde*, apolitical intellectuals. Successor to Thomas Mann as Nobel Prize winner, the "most representative" American author, he too lost favor under the Third Reich but regained repute as satirist and documentist after 1945. Lewis belonged with Dreiser, Mencken and Sherwood Anderson to the "Jung Amerika" movement. Dreiser persisted as a Germanic sensibility but his passé naturalism, Russian sympathies and anti-clericalism increasingly alienated German readers.

A decline of interest in reportorial novels of social protest brought recognition to Dos Passos, Hemingway, Faulkner and Wolfe ("Die Jüngsten" group) as stylists, although reactions to their "philosophies" differed radically. Wolfe was popular for romantic, lyric and "mystic" qualities; he also brought America to Germany as image and "epic idea." The German critical search for native qualities and techniques developed diverse appraisals, all of which Miss Springer has competently analyzed and documented.

GEORGE KNOX, *University of California, Riverside*

CARL W. CONDIT, *American Building Art: The Nineteenth Century*. xvii, 371 pp. Oxford University Press, 1960. \$12.50. Illus.

PROFESSOR CONDIT has written a work of reference which is also a lively history of engineering and building techniques. It is packed with infor-

mation gathered by an expert who communicates his enthusiasm. Students of many aspects of American life may now turn to him with their innumerable questions of facts, priorities and puzzlements unanswerable by ordinary means. In spite of the chauvinistic tone of the title, proper recognition is given to European precedent and invention.

The material is organized almost entirely by structural types. The main sections are: *Wood Framing*, *Iron Framing*, *The Wooden Bridge Truss*, *The Iron Bridge Truss*, *The Suspension Bridge*, *The Iron Arch Bridge*, *The Railway Trainshed*, *Concrete Construction* and a final *Architectural Appraisal*. The fact that these divisions are not parallel is awkward since the stress is more often on the raw material than on the function to be performed or on the ingeniously devised form. The index partially overcomes this weakness. The bibliography and notes are intricately subdivided, which is awkward. For greater convenience the notes might well have been included in the text. Technical terms are clearly defined. The illustrations, often fascinating, are numerous but not always well reproduced. A difficult labor well performed.

CARROLL L. V. MEEKS, *Yale University*

THOMAS O'BRIEN HANLEY, S.J. *Their Rights and Liberties: The Beginnings of Religious and Political Freedom in Maryland*. xv, 142 pp. The Newman Press, 1959. \$2.75.

THIS short volume, with an *imprimatur*, plus a foreword by Senator Eugene J. McCarthy, is an historical essay on Maryland's toleration policies and political freedom and their English Catholic background.

The importance of colonial Maryland was that her experience was, in Hanley's words, "unique." He points to the Maryland Ordinance of 1639, with its distinction between church and state—the state originating in the citizenry, and the state respecting the citizens' religion—as a continuing influence on Maryland Catholics and therefore upon American Catholics as a whole. Maryland's expression of Catholic democratic ideals in a pluralistic society thus made her unique among the colonies and in the world of the Catholic Church.

This Catholic tradition of democracy was based partially on the ancient English sense of personal liberty, as expressed in the words of the Ordinance of 1639, "The Inhabitants of this Province shall have all their rights and liberties according to the Great Charter. . . ." But more directly, Maryland's policy was rooted in the English Catholic experience, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was different from the European Catholic experience. The symbol of this difference is Thomas

More. The union of Catholicism and patriotism in More—"the King's good servant" but "God's servant first"—and the ideals of toleration expressed in the *Utopia* and other writings of the martyr-saint were a first step toward Maryland's, and America's, experiment with freedom of religion.

A second liberalizing influence came in the writings of Robert Persons, the English Jesuit who directed the Catholic missions in Elizabethan England. Applying More's utopian ideals to English politics at the end of the century, Persons wrote in 1594 an important tract versus hereditary and absolute monarchy. This democratic theory, as later expanded by Bellarmine and others, came to be trusted by English Catholics because they themselves had suffered so long under absolute monarchy.

The later chapters are historical, with accounts of the two first Calverts and their relation to this Catholic democratic tradition. The several cases involving religion (the Jesuits in 1642, the Lewis case where an over-zealous Catholic planter restricted the religious rights of his Protestant indentured servants, the Lumbrozo case involving the Jews), are detailed. The book concludes with the migration of the Carroll family, who provide the link with Maryland's Catholic beginnings and the American tradition of religious and political liberty.

DON YODER, *University of Pennsylvania*

MALDWYN ALLEN JONES, *American Immigration*. vii, 359 pp. University of Chicago Press, 1960. \$6.00.

THE last two decades have witnessed an increased awareness among American historians of the importance of immigration. The Chicago History of American Civilization series, therefore, wisely chose to include this type of study. As a general analysis and as a synthesis of many monographs, this book by Maldwyn Allen Jones is useful. The bibliographical essay is the heretofore best introduction to the field.

Jones begins his story with a description of the first settlers of Virginia and New England for whom immigration was the same as colonization. He investigates the mixture of nationalities in colonial America and then considers the immigration of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He examines the demands for restriction and the consequences of those demands. The author's thesis rests upon the following propositions: Immigration "as a social process has shown little variation throughout American history." The motives for coming were "very similar from first to last," and the experiences of various groups at various times

revealed "a fundamental uniformity." The factor that did vary was the "character of the immigrant impact."

Jones devotes most of his book to the latter part of this thesis. He explains in some detail the impact of immigration upon "economic growth, social development, political alignments, sectional conflicts, the westward movement, and foreign policy." The immigrants' contributions are emphasized.

The social and cultural experiences of the immigrants receive too little attention. Jones does hint at the effect of immigration upon mobility in American society, but he does not develop the many facets of this approach. The severe social adjustments or at times the almost complete overthrow of a customary way of life combined with an inability to become a part of American society caused the immigrants to experience social disorganization. Had Jones included a fuller explanation of this process, he would have added considerably to his otherwise excellent analysis.

NORTON MEZVINSKY, *University of Michigan*

CLINTON ROSSITER, *Marxism: The View from America*. viii, 338 pp. Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1960. \$6.75.

THE publication of this volume raises the question: why one more book on Marxism to add to the many already in existence, especially by a writer who has attained well-deserved fame as an authority on the American, not the Marxian tradition?

The reader soon discovers the features that differentiate this book from the others. It is not a routine analysis of Marxian theory, nor is it one of the numerous refutations of Marxist thought intended solely to show how often and on how many points Marx was wrong. Instead, the author's aim has been to compare and contrast, point by point and chapter by chapter, the fundamental principles of the two traditions, the American and the Marxian. As each topic is analyzed, Marxian theory and the principles expounded by Jefferson, Madison, Lincoln and other American leaders are placed in juxtaposition. The Marxian ideology is examined in such areas as the dialectical method, economic determinism, historicism, the class struggle, the role of religion and morals, the assumptions about human nature, natural rights, individual freedom, equality, political power and social progress. But, after the Marxists have had their say on each of these subjects, the writer then turns to the American tradition and examines its historic position on the same questions.

This is a different and instructive approach, and it achieves at least two important objectives. In the first place, the American democratic tradition becomes clearer and more meaningful. Perhaps one of the most effective ways to grasp the significance of such intangible concepts as those which comprise the "American tradition," is to see these concepts confronted point by point with a completely different tradition. In the second place, the dogmatism, the blind spots, the unanswered questions of Marxian theory become all the more obvious when contrasted with established American practice and traditional American principles in area after area. Recurring throughout the book is the theme of Marxian insistence on dogmatic and monistic certitude as opposed to the American approach of pluralism and pragmatism, the one "dogmatically collectivist, the other searchingly individualist."

The reader is left with the thought that Mr. Rossiter's book might well provide the pattern for an undergraduate or even a graduate course on the American and the Marxian traditions. By this method of confrontation, both are more readily understood and appreciated in their true significance.

MARGUERITE J. FISHER, *Syracuse University*

CASPAR NANNES, *Politics in the American Drama*. xv, 256 pp. Catholic University of America Press, 1960. \$4.95.

A good social history might be written on the subject implied by the title of this book; Nannes, in this revision of his doctoral dissertation, has not written it. What we have here are facile summaries of particular events, brief biographies of public figures, tentative descriptions of social situations, followed, in each case, by a listing of plays which stemmed from or referred to the event, the figure, the situation. No serious attempt has been made to analyze the politics that the book must deal with. Nor has there been intelligent treatment of the plays—no examination of a play's influence (if any) on politics, no consideration of the implications of a play's success or failure, no differentiation between playwrights concerned with political ideas and those interested only in workable stage subjects. The book is organized—if I may use the word—around the idea that American sophistication about political matters has increased since the turn of the century and that the increase is mirrored in the drama. There is really little evidence for such a contention. I can see relatively little difference between *A Texas Steer* (1890), one of the plays that Nannes discusses, and, say, *The Solid Gold Cadillac* (1954), which

for some reason he passes over; in so far as there is an increase of sophistication, an explanation for it lies more comfortably in the development of dramatic technique, a subject that Nannes ignores, than it does in the history of ideas.

GERALD WEALES, *University of Pennsylvania*

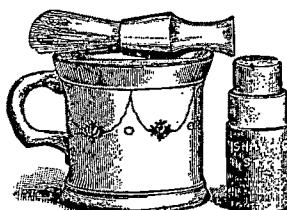
RUSSEL B. NYE, *The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776-1830*. xii, 324 pp. Harper & Brothers, 1960. \$5.00.

THE second volume in the Harpers' New American Nation series to be devoted to cultural history (the first being L. B. Wright's colonial study), this work compactly reviews the evidence of a new nation oscillating between an overseas cultural inheritance and a determination to find a native note. Professor Nye, conscious of the cultural thinness of this interim era, approaches it as transitional between the "afterglow of the Enlightenment" and the "dawn of Romanticism just breaking"; and finds in it energy if not distinction, and the groundwork, at least, for the later emergence of a native tradition.

The "afterglow" is well summarized in the opening chapters; the later links with a rising frontier evangelistic fervor or a romantic literature are harder to synthesize. For the period is not an easy assignment for the cultural historian because of its very diversity and shallowness. Unfortunately, but one chapter is devoted to literary activity, and that is treated largely in terms of the search for a native strain.

Footnotes and chapter bibliographies remind us how greatly investigative studies have increased in the past decade or two. Aside from the first chapter, however, there seems insufficient reference to primary sources. In short, this book would be a very useful handbook for a seminar study of the period, to be supplemented by reading in the primary documents. As such, it is a thorough and competent job.

WILSON O. CLOUGH, *University of Wyoming*



American Calendar

Summer



1961

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. The ASA Executive Committee met in Philadelphia on May 13. Its principal business was the writing of a budget for the 1961-62 fiscal year and the discussion of ways and means to increase membership. . . . The treasurer, Vincent Eaton, reported a sound financial situation in terms of the present scale and nature of ASA operations, attributing this to the success of the Institutional Membership campaign and the subsidy of the University of Pennsylvania. . . . The committee noted that while subscriptions to *American Quarterly* continued to increase, regular membership lags far behind. It voted to create a national membership committee to assist the regional chapters in the recruiting of new members, and it increased funds available for promotional purposes.

BIBLIOGRAPHER. Donald N. Koster, Adelphi College, has been appointed to fill the unexpired term of ASA Bibliographer caused by the resignation of Albert D. Van Nostrand, Brown University,

who has accepted a Fulbright appointment to Brazil. Since 1957, Professor Koster has been chairman of the committee of Metropolitan New York ASA which compiles the annual annotated checklist, "Articles in American Studies."

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. The Steering Committee for the proposed ASA International Conference on American Studies met on May 12 at the University of Pennsylvania. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the basis for inviting scholars from abroad and participants from the United States, setting a date, outlining a tentative program and providing adequate financial support. President Ray Billington reported that the main source of funds was a grant of \$15,000 from the American Council of Learned Societies but this was limited to travel expense for scholars from abroad and administrative expenses, so additional funds were also being sought. W. Rex Crawford, University of Pennsylvania, conference director, presided. Members of the committee are E. Sculley Bradley, Uni-

versity of Pennsylvania; John Hope Franklin, Brooklyn College; Robert E. Spiller, University of Pennsylvania; John William Ward, Princeton University; and C. Vann Woodward, Johns Hopkins University.

MIDCONTINENT. The Central Mississippi Valley ASA held its sixth annual meeting on March 25 at the University of Kansas. At the first session James C. Malin, University of Kansas, spoke on "Kansas: Some Reflections on Cultural Inheritance and Originality." Discussants were Robert Johannsen, University of Illinois, and Nyle Miller, Executive Secretary, Kansas Historical Society. C. Stanley Urban, Park College, presided. Wayne Wheeler, University of Chicago, gave a presidential address entitled "Frontiers, Americanization and Romantic Pluralism" at the luncheon meeting. The second session consisted of a lecture by Kenneth J. LaBudde, University of Kansas City, on "Regionalism in American Painting: Some Cultural Speculations." Discussants were R. J. Hunt, Washburn University, and Ross E. Taggart, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City, Mo. Gerald Bernstein, University of Kansas, presided. . . . New officers are Robert P. Cobb, president; Richard Herrnstadt, vice president; and Jerzy Hauptmann, secretary-treasurer. Members of the Executive Committee are Arthur

L. Scott, University of Illinois; Paul Glad, Coe College; John Q. Reed, Kansas State College; Leon T. Dickinson, University of Missouri; Harold E. Hall, Nebraska Wesleyan University; and Manly Johnson, University of Tulsa. . . . The chapter voted to change its name to the Midcontinent American Studies Association, a designation more appropriate because its membership is now drawn from Nebraska and Oklahoma as well as Iowa, Missouri, Kansas and Illinois other than the Chicago area.

OHIO-INDIANA. "The Teaching of American Civilization" was the theme of the Spring meeting of the Ohio-Indiana ASA held April 28-29 at Wittenberg University, Springfield, Ohio. The program centered around a paper by Kenneth Davison, Heidelberg College, on "Teaching a Sophomore Survey Course in American Studies: Some Problems, Tools and Techniques." The paper was discussed by Aaron I. Abell, Notre Dame University; Edwin H. Cady, Indiana University; and Roy P. Fairfield, Ohio University. Lyon Richardson, Western Reserve University, presided. Thomas LeDuc, Oberlin College, spoke at the luncheon meeting. His subject was "Depression Forgotten: The Middle 1880's." The program was arranged by William Coyle, Wittenberg University, chapter vice president.

POLITICAL SCIENCE. The Mid-continent American Studies Association sponsored a discussion on "The Political Scientist in the Study of Political Culture" at the annual Midwest Conference of Political Scientists on May 13 at the University of Missouri. Frank A. Pinner, Michigan State University, presented a paper on "The Growth and Effects of Political Identification." Discussants were Warren Miller, University of Michigan; John Wahlke, Vanderbilt University; Thomas Flinn, Oberlin College; David Bakan, University of Missouri; and Wayne Wheeler, Kansas City Study of Adult Life, University of Chicago. Presiding was Austin Ranney, University of Illinois.

SOUTHERN CALIF. A program on "The Theater of the Thirties" was presented at a meeting of ASA of Southern California held April 8 at San Fernando Valley State College, Northridge. Papers given at the opening session included "The Theater of the Thirties as a Reflection of Social Realities," James Morgan, San Fernando Valley State College; "The Federal Theater Project," John Houseman, University of California, Los Angeles, and MGM; "The Group Theater," Irwin Swerdlow, Los Angeles State College; and "New Theater Magazine," Eleazer Lecky, University of Southern California. George Knox, University of Calif-

fornia, Riverside, served as moderator. Speaker at the luncheon was John Howard Lawson, play and film writer, who discussed "The Theater of the Thirties." A performance of Odets' *Waiting for Lefty* by drama students of San Fernando State College, followed the luncheon. New officers of the chapter are Edwin Fussell, Claremont Graduate School, president; Cushing Strout, California Institute of Technology, vice president; and George Knox, secretary-treasurer. Bruce McElderry, University of Southern California, headed the nominating committee. The program was arranged by James Woodress, San Fernando State College, retiring president.

ROCKY MT. The theme of the annual meeting of the Rocky Mountain ASA, which met on May 5 at the University of Denver, was "American Studies in the Atomic Age." Papers included "Functionalism in American Industrial Design," Marvin Fisher, Arizona State University; "Image of America: Frontiersman and Astronaut," B. June West, Eastern New Mexico University; "An Ecological or Broad-Context Approach to the Study and Teaching of Literature," Capt. Paul J. Parsons, United States Air Force Academy; and "New Frontiers in American Studies," Michael McGiffert, University of Denver. Gordon Mills, University of Texas, spoke at the

luncheon, and Sister Esther Marie of Loretto Heights College, retiring president, presided. New officers are H. R. Dieterich, University of Wyoming, president; Mrs. Leedice Kissane, Idaho State College, vice president; and Lawrence E. Gelfand, University of Wyoming, secretary-treasurer.

MID-ATLANTIC. ASA of the Middle Atlantic States met at the University of Pennsylvania on April 8. The topic was "The Modern City, Challenge and Dilemma: Case Study, Philadelphia." Speakers included Walter E. Bezanson, Rutgers University, "The National Perspective"; Wallace E. Davies, University of Pennsylvania, "The Philadelphia Perspective"; William G. Grigsby, University of Pennsylvania, "The Underprivileged"; E. Digby Baltzell, University of Pennsylvania, "The Overprivileged"; and Charles Peterson, Supervising Architect, National Park Service, "Can We Save Our Historic Buildings?" Chapter officers elected were Willard Thorp, Princeton, president; Wallace E. Davies, vice president; and E. McClung Fleming, Winterthur Museum, secretary-treasurer.

NEW YORK CITY. The Spring meeting of ASA of Metropolitan New York was held at The College of the City of New York on April 15. The topic considered was "New York City as a Cultural Determinant," with Bayrd Still, New

York University, as chairman. Papers included "Metropolitan Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency," Robert M. MacIver, Director, Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project of the City of New York; "Music's Role in the City's Cultural Development," Carleton Sprague Smith, Director, Brazilian Institute; "The Role of Printed Media in New York's Culture," John W. Tebbell, Director, New York University Graduate Institute of Book Publishing; and "Urban Esthetics: The Architect and the Public Responsibility," James M. Fitch, Columbia University School of Architecture. New officers are Henry Wasser, City College, chairman; Miriam Heffernan, Brooklyn College, secretary-treasurer; and Donald Koster, Adelphi College, executive committeeman.

MINN.-DAKOTAS. "The Problem of Studying American Culture" was the theme of the annual meeting of ASA of Minnesota and the Dakotas held on April 29 at Carleton College. The program began with three papers, including "Artifact and Symbol of American Culture: The Brooklyn Bridge," Alan Trachtenberg, Pennsylvania State University; "The Intellectual Historian's Approach to American Culture," Winton U. Solberg, Macalester College; and "The Sociologist's Approach to American Culture," William L. Kolb, Carleton College. A luncheon address on

"The Definition, Method and Meaning of American Studies" was given by Anthony N. B. Garvan, University of Pennsylvania. The afternoon featured a panel discussion with Charles E. Shain, chapter president, serving as moderator. Panelists included Charles H. Foster, English, University of Minnesota; Frank Miller, anthropology, Carleton College; Donald Torbert, art, University of Minnesota; and Professors Garvan, Kolb, Solberg and Trachtenberg. New Officers are Donald Torbert, president; Brom Weber, University of Minnesota, vice president; Sister Mary Edmund Lincoln, College of St. Catherine, secretary-treasurer; and James Rodney, South Dakota State College, and William Kolb, members of the executive board.

KENTUCKY-TENNESSEE. ASA of Kentucky and Tennessee met on March 24-25 at the University of Kentucky. Following a business session, papers were given on "Artemus Ward and the Tradition of Comic Absurdity" by Edward F. Foster, University of Kentucky, and "Transcendentalism and the Cordwainer," a study of a shoe-workers' trade paper at Lynn, Mass., by John P. Hall, University of Kentucky. The dinner speaker was Raven I. McDavid, University of Chicago, whose subject was "The Contribution of H. L. Mencken to American Linguistics." The final session was devoted to a discussion

of "Contemporary Linguistics and American Studies." David Maurer, University of Louisville, was moderator, and panelists were John Jacob Niles, folklorist, Lexington, Ky.; D. K. Wilgus, Western Kentucky State College; Eric Stockton, University of Tennessee; V. L. Barnhill, University of Kentucky; and Raven I. McDavid. Officers for 1961-62 are William F. Ekstrom, University of Louisville, president; Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., Vanderbilt University, vice president; and Durante daPonte, University of Tennessee, secretary - treasurer. Members of the executive committee are George N. Dove, East Tennessee State College; Raleigh A. Wilson, Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial College; Sheldon Grebstein, University of Kentucky; and George W. Robinson, Eastern Kentucky State College.

WISCONSIN-NORTHERN ILLINOIS. The annual meeting of ASA of Wisconsin-Northern Illinois took place at the University of Wisconsin. The meeting opened with an address by Carl Bode, University of Wisconsin, first president of ASA, speaking on "The ASA: Its Past and Its Problems." Following a luncheon through the courtesy of the Ford Motor Company, a panel discussion was held on "The ASA: Its Past, Its Problems and Its Future." Panelists were Ray Billington, Northwestern University; Leslie Paffrath, the John-

son Foundation, Racine, Wisc.; Theodore Marburg, Marquette University; and Walter Rideout, Northwestern University. Ernest Samuels, Northwestern University, chapter president, was moderator.

MICHIGAN. ASA of Michigan sponsored a program at the annual meeting of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters on March 24 at Wayne State University. Papers given were "The Anvil of Democracy: Public Address in the American Studies Program," Dana Woodbridge, Michigan State University; "American Civilization View from India," Richard D. Miles, Wayne State University; "German Letters of Civil War Soldiers," Hermann E. Rothfuss, Western Michigan University; "The Thursday Lecture in Puritan Society," C. David Mead, Michigan State University; "Hoosiers and the First Cold War, 1940-41," George M. Blackburn, Central Michigan University; "Southern Michigan's Oil Boom," Darrell Pollard, Albion College; and "Sherwood Anderson and the Two Faces of America," David Anderson, Michigan State University. New officers of the chapter are Leonard Eaton, University of Michigan, president; Leo Stoller, Wayne State University, vice president; and Norman Grabo, Michigan State University, executive secretary.

CHESAPEAKE. The spring meeting of the Chesapeake Chapter of

ASA took place on April 8 at Evergreen House, the Garrett Mansion in Baltimore. Miss Lida Mayo, chief historian of the Ordnance Corps, U. S. Army, was the speaker. Her subject was "Thackeray in America, 1852-53."

SYMPOSIA. The *Mississippi Quarterly* devotes its Fall 1960 issue to a group of papers on "Southern Humor" first presented at a joint session of the Southeastern ASA and the South Atlantic Modern Language Association in 1957. Contributors include John M. MacLachlan, University of Florida, "Southern Humor as a Vehicle of Social Evaluation"; Edd Winfield Parks, University of Georgia, "The Intent of the Ante-Bellum Southern Humorists"; Willard Thorp, Princeton University, "Suggs and Sut in Modern Dress: The Latest Chapter in Southern Humor"; and Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky, "Humor in the Stream of Southern History." Arlin Turner, Duke University, who chaired the original program, contributes an introduction, and an additional paper by Arthur P. Hudson, University of North Carolina, on "Animal Lore in Lawson's and Brickell's Histories of North Carolina," is included. Free copies of this issue may be had by addressing a request to the ASA Executive Secretary. . . . A limited number of the Spring 1960 *Mississippi Quarterly*, featuring a symposium on

the "Fugitive Agrarian Movement" which also originated as a joint session of Southeastern ASA and the South Atlantic MLA, is still available.

NEW PROGRAMS. The University of Alabama will initiate an undergraduate program in American Studies during the next academic year. It will be built around a group of elective courses in four areas of the humanities and social sciences and two full year courses in American Studies during the junior and senior year. The director is Clarence Mondale. . . . Kent State University begins a Ph.D. program in American Studies next fall. It is supported by three National Defense Act fellowships. . . . Eastern New Mexico University has also authorized a program in American Studies leading to the A. B. degree to begin next September. B. June West is in charge. Areas of concentration will be literature and history. A two semester upperclass course, "Main Currents in American Thought," is offered.

NEW PROGRAMS ABROAD. Eleonora Mancuso writes in the current *Newsletter of the European Association for American Studies* that "the number of courses in the field of American studies at Italian universities is steadily increasing." . . . Joseph L. Blotner reports in the *Newsletter* that a chair of

American studies will be established in Copenhagen as soon as a qualified Dane can be found. . . . The University of São Paulo has two Fulbright lectureships in *North American Civilization* and offers an award for "research in Brazilian studies." . . . The Swedish Parliament has established a permanent lectureship in American civilization at the University of Göteborg to be held by an American. Other new lectureships are planned for Lund and Stockholm. . . . Fourteen Indian universities have approved courses in American literature and two others are expected to do so in the near future. Twelve have offerings in American history. . . . Professorships in English philology recently established at the Universities of Heidelberg and Keil will include strong emphasis upon American literature and language. . . . An extraordinary professorship in Americanistics has been created at Tübingen.

AWARDS. Guggenheim fellowships for 1962 have been awarded to five ASA members. Their names and projects are Arthur Bestor, University of Illinois, American Constitutional development; Paul W. Glad, Coe College, an historical study of the United States from World War I to the Depression; Hugh D. Hawkins, Amherst College, American university presidents, 1865-1916; William R. Hogan, Tulane University, history of

American leisure activities; and Leo Marx, Amherst College, the pastoral impulse in American literature and thought. Woodrow Wilson fellowship appointments for 1961-62 include ten students who will be pursuing graduate work in American Studies. . . . ASA member John F. McDermott, Washington University, has received an ACLS research grant for a study of pictorial reporting of the American West.

PUBLICATIONS. The March, 1961, Bulletin of the *British Association for American Studies* has articles on "William Cobbett in North America" by J. Potter and "Notes on American Negro Reformers in Victorian Britain" by Clare Taylor. The second issue in a new format, the *Bulletin* is 90 pages with reviews and shorter articles. . . . The fourth volume of the *Jahrbuch für Amerikanstudien*, published by the German Association for American Studies, contains 15 articles in German and English, including "Value and Method in American Studies: The Literary versus the Social Approach" by Robert E. Spiller, University of Pennsylvania. . . . Harry M. Campbell, Oklahoma State University, has joined the editorial board of the *Journal of the Central Mississippi Valley American Studies Association*. The second volume, Spring 1961, contains eight articles of American studies interest.

ACLS. Members of the advisory committee for the American Studies Program of the American Council of Learned Societies are Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin; John Hope Franklin, Brooklyn College; Walter H. C. Laves, Indiana University; Eugene V. Rostow, Yale University; J. Roland Pennock, Swarthmore College; Henry Nash Smith, University of California, Berkeley; Robert F. Goheen, Princeton University; and Robert E. Spiller, University of Pennsylvania, chairman. The program is designed to further American Studies in Europe. It is supported by a Ford Foundation grant of \$2,500,000.

BOOKS. Writes W. A. Bultmann, Ohio Wesleyan University, a Fulbright lecturer in Pakistan: "I happened to be in the office of the history department at the University of Dacca last week when your very welcome packet of paperback volumes on American civilization arrived. Let me tell you that you cannot imagine how much these books are appreciated here or how badly they are needed." If ASA members wish to nominate individual scholars in Asia, Africa or Latin America who would make good use of such gift packages, they should send names and addresses to the ASA Executive Secretary immediately. Another mailing of paperbacks, provided by the Freedom House Foundation will take

place during the early summer. . . . Books for Asian Students, a project of the Asia Foundation, seeks gifts of books and journals for Asiatic educational institutions to whom it has sent more than two million so far. Needed are college and secondary level books in good condition published after 1945, scholarly journals in runs of five years or more and works by standard authors. The Asia Foundation will pay transportation costs from the donor to San Francisco and on to Asia. Address questions to Books for Asia Students, 21 Drumm Street, San Francisco 11, Calif.

BAAS. The British Association for American Studies held a six day conference at Manchester which began on March 22. As in the past, the pattern consisted of a "general" lecture in the morning, discussion of the lecture by "syndicates," a question period on the "general" lecture and seminars or special sessions in the afternoon. In addition special events such as an exhibition of the Karolik Collection of American Painting and the showing of a series of American films, were included in the program.

IN BRIEF. The *Acronyms Dictionary* (Detroit, 1960), a reference work defining some 12,000 alphabetical designations for various agencies and groups, e.g., CARE, WPA, WAVES, SNAFU, PMLA, has 33 entries for ASA, the largest listing. . . . The European Associa-

tion for American Studies will meet in Berlin September 28-30. . . . The Nordic Association for American Studies will meet at Sigtuna, near Stockholm, on August 1. The conference topic will be "The American Impact in Scandinavia" The period of the 1930's was studied in the Carleton College American Studies program this year. Guest speakers included Francis Perkins, John Dos Passos, Raymond Moley and Gardner Means. . . . New courses have been added to the American Studies program at Mankato State College, Minnesota, including a course in "American Civilization" to be taught next spring by Roy W. Meyer. . . . The Boston College Graduate School will again conduct a summer Institute in American Studies under the direction of John R. Betts. . . . The New York State Historical Association will hold its 14th annual Seminar in American Culture at Cooperstown July 2-15. . . . In listing available grants for university lecturing and advanced research for 1962-63 under the Fulbright and Smith Mundt Acts, the Conference Board of Associated Research Council (2101 Constitution Ave., Washington 25, D.C.) states that applications will be accepted in any field, whether or not a specific opening in them is announced. Inquiries on available openings are welcome at any time and applications will be accepted for review as long as vacancies exist.

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American Quarterly

VOLUME XIII

SUMMER 1961

NUMBER 2 PART 2

SUPPLEMENT

JOHN HIGHAM American Intellectual History:
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DAVID R. WEIMER Welcome Instruments for
Thinking Men

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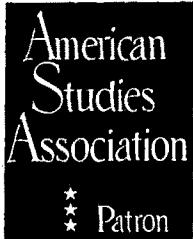
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American Quarterly

Volume XIII

Summer 1961

No. 2, Pt. 2

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AMERICAN QUARTERLY is published five times a year: March, May, August, October and December. *Editorial and Business Address:* Box 46, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4. *Subscription Rates:* \$6.00 a year; \$1.25 single copy. B. DeBoer, 102 Beverly Road, Bloomfield, N. J., distributor to the retail trade. Second-class postage paid at Philadelphia, Pa. Copyright 1961, Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania.

American Quarterly

The aim of AMERICAN QUARTERLY is to aid in giving a sense of direction to studies in the culture of the United States, past and present. Editors and contributors therefore concern themselves not only with the areas of American life which they know best but with the relation of those areas to the entire American scene and to world society.

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JOHN HIGHAM
University of Michigan

American Intellectual History: A Critical Appraisal

AT A CONFERENCE LAST FALL ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN INTELLECTUAL history and American Studies,¹ Russell Nye told a story about the famous baseball pitcher, Satchel Paige. In the later years of his career, Paige was asked how he managed to pitch nine sterling innings at his advanced age. He replied: "Ah jes' stays loose." Nye spoke for most of the attendants at the conference in recommending that the study of American culture "stay loose." Scholars should avoid confining definitions and fixed procedures in the interest of youthful flexibility.

The story itself is characteristically American in its feeling for the openness of experience, the plasticity of life, the success of an ongoing enterprise. The story gets much of its force from our recognition of Paige as an acknowledged champion. He was still winning so many games that his questioner did not worry about why the pitcher lost some of them. Can we have the same confidence in the game of scholarship?

Certainly the study of American intellectual history has, until recently at least, stayed loose. So have the other cultural inquiries that are called American Studies. A philosophy of looseness has, in fact, determined the

¹ Conference on the Historical Study of American Culture, Arden House, New York, October 13-15, 1960. An earlier version of this paper was discussed at the Conference, and I have taken grateful advantage of the criticisms of the other participants in trying to clarify and correct my remarks for publication. Since the general tenor of my argument is unchanged, it does not reflect any consensus among the participants. I am also indebted to the Princeton Council of the Humanities for engaging me in a larger study of American historical scholarship, from which this paper is an outgrowth.

It is necessary to add that I sought deliberately to be controversial—even somewhat polemical—and could not therefore do full justice to all sides of the questions involved. My quasi-historical sketch takes up only so much of the record as seemed immediately pertinent to the issue at hand; and the tyranny of argument did not permit adequate recognition, or even mention, of many scholars whom I greatly admire.

methods of these fields (although a paradoxical mystique of "integration" has ordinarily supplied their objective). It is doubtful if the record to date justifies us in sharing Satch's confidence in his own limber form. Possibly, writers of American intellectual history have valued looseness too highly. Great historians, like great pitchers, also need fine control.

A little reflection on the ways in which American intellectual history has been written, and on the scholarly traditions from which it has developed, may suggest why Americanists have puzzled and argued so much in recent decades over the nature of intellectual history, and why their general attitude toward it has been so eclectic. A critical review may also show a quiet trend of late toward the clarification of objectives. If such a trend is under way, sympathetic discussion of its problems and possibilities should serve a useful purpose.

So long as the nature of intellectual history remains in dispute, one has to begin with an attempt at definition. No one can hope, of course, to legislate what a subject of study "really" is; but a good definition can mark out an appropriate sphere of interest and thus prevent us from using words unsuitably. Let us say, then, that intellectual history is first of all a branch of history, one variety of a species, sharing the general characteristics that distinguish historical knowledge. As such, it has an overriding concern with how and why particular human experiences have followed one another through time. However much analysis or evaluation an historian undertakes, movement and continuity are his organizing principles, and his competence is limited to a definite span of time. "What aesthetic writers claim a passionate apprehension of form to be to the painter, a passionate apprehension of process is to the historian."²

Intellectual history simply applies this way of looking at things to a distinctive subject matter, centering attention on the experiences of thought rather than external behavior. For the intellectual historian, not culture, politics, society or art, but states of mind make up the foreground of interest and the focus of curiosity. This choice of subject matter imposes additional obligations on the intellectual historian. Since every state of mind contains a belief, the intellectual historian—to be responsive to his material—should care a good deal about the acceptableness of beliefs. He should feel the appeal of an idea, and weigh critically its tenability. In that sense, he is an amateur philosopher.

He also functions to some degree as a philosopher in organizing his material. We must assume that the ideas and feelings present in the mind

² G. M. Young quoted in C. V. Wedgwood, *Truth and Opinion: Historical Essays* (London: Collins, 1960), p. 95.

of an individual or group at any given time constitute an interlocking structure, the parts of which are shaped and defined by their relation to one another. Thus, catchwords like nationalism or humanitarianism acquire varying meanings from the general mental outlook of different periods. To understand ideas historically virtually requires some analysis of the intellectual structure in which they were located. The *process* that the intellectual historian studies is movement in, or of, such a system. His achievement becomes more considerable as the magnitude of the system increases, and as it brings an increasing variety of ideas and feelings into meaningful relation. The largest distinctive aim of the intellectual historian, therefore, is to describe and explain the spirit of an age.³

This was also the traditional objective of intellectual historians. The few men who wrote the history of thought in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries held substantially the above conception of their task. From W. E. H. Lecky and Leslie Stephen to V. L. Parrington and Alfred North Whitehead, intellectual history meant an attempt to trace the development of the inner life of an age or of a people and thereby exhibit the spirit informing its formal philosophies and its practical achievements. This spirit could be discovered by examining a variety of articulate representatives and determining their distinctive "mental habits" or their common "cast of mind."⁴ Undertaken in such fashion, intellectual history served as a nineteenth-century substitute for, or supplement to, philosophy. Evolutionary thinkers, unable to find solid ground for their beliefs in any fixed metaphysical system, looked to the course of history for guidance and to intellectual history in particular for a critical understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the ideas around them.⁵

On the methodological questions that became so troublesome later—questions of what qualifies as thought, and how it interacts with events—

³ Some of the participants in the Arden House Conference objected to the overly unified, monistic implications of the term, "spirit of an age." Some preferred the more relativistic phrase, "climate of opinion." I think it desirable—indeed, essential in large-scale operations—for the historian to strive for unity. To speak of a spirit in an age does not mean that a pervasive presence controls it; or that it has an essence; or that diversity and conflict are less important than agreement in a period; or that any symbolic design an historian constructs will prove illuminating for other purposes or true from other points of view. It *does* mean that life and thought are most meaningful when grasped in patterns. I like the term "spirit" because it implies a kind of energy, whereas "climate" suggests merely a vaporous condition.

⁴ W. E. H. Lecky, *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe* (London: Longmans, Green, 1865), I, vi-ix, xvii-xx; John Theodore Merz, *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1896), I, 8-14, 25-26.

⁵ In addition to the above references, see Sydney E. Ahlstrom's Introduction to Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *Transcendentalism in New England: A History* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1959), pp. xvii-ix.

the nineteenth-century intellectual historians maintained a serene and deliberate vagueness. These questions did not interest them very much. An organic theory of culture, which they took for granted, decreed that the relations between thought and deed must be intimate; and their own desire to face the great issues of their time in terms of fundamental principles insured that their history would emphasize serious and substantial types of expression, approached from a non-technical point of view. The traditional intellectual historians were usually naïve in their evolutionary assumptions and unrepresentative in their selection of materials,⁶ but they did important work on a generous scale with the aid of a clear purpose.

This long established conception of intellectual history broke down after World War I, when the great amateurs who had dominated and defined the subject gave way to men absorbed in particular academic disciplines. Probably the first major change came from the professional historians. They had conspicuously avoided intellectual history. Pledged to a severe conception of scientific "facts," and distrustful of the flux of speculation and opinion, the professionals had thought objectivity compromised it outside the field of material events and political institutions. Intellectual history became a subject of professional interest only after James Harvey Robinson and his followers challenged the narrow positivism of their guild.

Robinson's challenge came under the name "the New History," of which intellectual history was to be an important part. Robinson belligerently proposed to make history not only more all-embracing but also more relevant to the interests of contemporary democracy.⁷ His reform program raised the hackles of the conservatives in the profession, and the intellectual historians who followed in Robinson's footsteps had to vindicate their academic respectability to distrustful, sometimes even resentful, colleagues. These intramural pressures probably contributed to the New Historians' cautious, down-to-earth approach to intellectual history. Certainly the general ethos of the profession did not encourage them to generalize as freely, or to rise as far above the level of events, as outsiders like H. O. Taylor or even Parrington were doing. A philosophic view of intellectual history found little favor in professional circles. There, Carl

⁶ Nevertheless, the range of materials from which they drew was sometimes surprisingly wide. Barrett Wendell's chapter, "The American Intellect," in *The Cambridge Modern History* (New York, 1903), VII, 723-51, touched on law, philosophy, literature, art, science and education.

⁷ James Harvey Robinson, *The New History: Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1912).

Becker—sustained surely by the influence of Alfred North Whitehead⁸—was almost alone in retaining a traditional conception of intellectual history.

If professional considerations inclined the historians toward concrete events at the expense of philosophic breadth, their own program pushed them in the same direction. The disciples of the New History in the 1920s and 1930s were determined to break down supposedly artificial compartments, to integrate thought and deed at every point. They were, in Morton White's phrase, in revolt against formalism.⁹ The history they wrote was so very comprehensive that it permitted little sustained analysis of ideas.

A more or less pragmatic outlook also restrained the New Historians from studying ideas systematically. They took a tough-minded, "realistic" view of beliefs, emphasizing environmental contexts. Yet the New Historian could never rest easy on this point. The relation between ideas and "interests" became an insistent problem, to which his own assumptions foreclosed any satisfactory answer. As a realist, influenced by materialistic interpretations of history, he supposed that ideas are functionally subordinate to interests. He usually concluded, as Richard Hofstadter did of Social Darwinism in 1942, that "changes in the structure of social ideas wait on general changes in economic and political life."¹⁰ On the other hand, the New Historian counted ultimately on the life of reason to remake society. So he kept distinguishing between ideas and interests as compulsively as he mixed them together.

Closely related to this concern, and almost as intense, was the second major question that the professionals brought to the fore. How do ideas circulate through the various levels of society? How, particularly, do they move the inarticulate masses? This problem was largely an extension of the other, and gained in attractiveness as a more promising way of formulating and studying the interplay of thought and action. At the same time, the fascination with popular thought suited the temper of the New History in a crucial particular: it made intellectual history democratic. To write a broad-based kind of intellectual history had the charm of linking intellectuals with the common man. The New Historian had the

⁸ Becker's outstanding achievement, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932), was much influenced by Alfred North Whitehead's *Science and the Modern World* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925). After Whitehead had shown the rationalism of medieval thought, Becker demonstrated the medievalism of rationalist thought.

⁹ *Social Thought in America: The Revolt against Formalism* (New York: The Viking Press, 1949).

¹⁰ *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944), p. 176.

authority of John Dewey for believing that an undemocratic class structure had kept traditional philosophy aloof from the needs and interests of ordinary people. On the same premise, he might suspect that the older type of intellectual history was aristocratic, and out of tune with the conquering advance of science and democracy.¹¹

In spite of the reductionistic character of such views, the joining of high culture with popular thought may turn out, in the long run, to be the most considerable achievement of the new intellectual history and one of the most stimulating developments in historical scholarship during the last generation. Led by Merle Curti and Ralph H. Gabriel, historians showed that the intellectual history of a democratic society, where no class lines set natural limits to the circulation of ideas, calls for close attention to the processes of popular diffusion and intellectual crystallization. Many of our leading intellectuals, Franklin and Whitman, for example, and such popular currents as the pro-slavery philosophy and Jacksonian democracy, can not be understood without connecting an earthy accent and an airy creed. It also became gradually apparent that the tensions between "higher" and "lower" levels of thought can be studied as seriously as their affinities: the ambiguous relations between the intellectual and his audience, or the strains between his basic principles and the popular moods and fashions that impinge upon him. The study of popular thought has increasingly distinguished between cross-purposes disguised by slogans, and has taken account of the gap between highbrows, middlebrows and lowbrows.

The more sharply we distinguish between the various levels of thought, the more difficult becomes the task of connecting them in a single historical design. No one has entirely succeeded in doing so—in uniting, that is, the philosophy and the social psychology of an age, in making its original ideas and its conventional opinions equally alive and meaningful.¹² None-

¹¹ R. Richard Wohl, "Intellectual History: An Historian's View," *Historian*, XVI (1953), 62-77. Another characteristic statement is Dixon Wecter's "Ideas as Master Switches," *Saturday Review of Literature*, XXXII (August 6, 1949), 64-65. Notice that Wecter's metaphor clearly assigns an instrumental role to ideas: as master switches, they complete an electrical circuit, but the source of energy is presumably elsewhere.

¹² The most revealing line of inquiry running in this direction in recent years has been the mythic approach of Henry Nash Smith and other writers. This approach has the advantage of dramatizing popular thought by rendering all ideas in pictorial terms. Thus, in Smith's *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), the image of the "garden of the world" vividly unites Jeffersonian abstractions with crude notions about increased rainfall. The objective is a kind of analysis "that fuses concept and emotion." This fusion brings the emotions into the foreground of intellectual history without destroying the framework of conceptual thought. But the conceptual side of intellectual life becomes largely a vehicle for the affective side. So the problem of relating systematic to popular thought has become in our time a problem of relating rational to irrational ideas.

theless, attempts to relate these levels of thought seem essential if history is to retain its ancient claim to wholeness and its standing as a unifying discipline. We honor the New History because it maintained this claim, and even reinvigorated it; but its zeal for wholeness outreached its integrative power. The intellectual history born out of the revolt against formalism had the virtue of bringing ideas at various levels into juxtaposition; but the resulting amalgam also incorporated so much else that the distinctive character of intellectual history was overborne. The New History had so sharp a repugnance for compartmentalization, and so strong a desire for comprehensiveness, that many of its disciples did not care greatly about intellectual history as such. They valued it more as an instrument for interpreting the multifarious doings of men—as a means of generalizing political and social phenomena—than as a subject with its own intelligibility and importance. In quest of a pragmatic synthesis, the New History tended to squeeze all ideas into a matrix of events and institutions.

I conclude, then, that an instrumental approach to intellectual history—a desire to *use* it rather than to *possess* it—raised crucial methodological issues but left them unresolved; brought intellectual history into the mainstream of professional historical interests, and into relation to general American history, but dissipated the force and coherence that the older intellectual history had had at its best; inspired an abundance of useful research but a paucity of interpretations of the spirit of an age; made us critical of the functioning of ideas, but deterred us from penetrating to their essence.

Not only in intellectual history, but also in its whole attitude toward the past, the New History prescribed an external view of historical data. Aligning itself with the social sciences, the New History treated human experience as comparable to natural phenomena, from which the observer seeks to detach himself as completely as possible. Ever on guard against subjective entanglement in this supposedly external reality, historians maintained a critical stance toward it. In attempting to objectify the past, they could not participate in it wholeheartedly, identify themselves fully with its inmost feelings through imaginative sympathy, or internalize its thoughts. Their theory was more suitable for “unmasking” ideologies, exposing “rationalizations,” or analyzing “propaganda.”

Did the study of intellectual history follow a different course outside the ranks of professional historians? During the twenties, thirties and forties, men in several disciplines, with a variety of scholarly commitments, were discovering intellectual history and adapting it to their own purposes. Because of their professional background, teachers of

literature, religion and philosophy, and general cultural critics like Lewis Mumford, could be expected to have a deeper interest in ideas and values than the traditions of the historical guild permitted. One might expect, therefore, that these nonprofessionals would uphold—against the New History—the older view of intellectual history as a subject of intrinsic importance.

To some extent, this happened. One thinks, for example, of Parrington's sense of the sweep and range of ideas, and perhaps of his vivid intellectual portraiture too. In another discipline, Ralph Barton Perry wrote the older type of intellectual history; so did Perry Miller.¹⁸ In view of the enormous proliferation of humanistic scholarship during these decades, however, it is remarkable how few Americans wrote broadly and effectively about the movement of ideas through time.

Two obstacles stood especially in the way. For one, the pragmatic, anti-formalist attitude characteristic of the New History also influenced many scholars in other disciplines. Many historians of literature, religion and other subjects felt the same distrust of abstractions, the same desire to bind ideas closely to practical life, the same subordination of thought to action. Another obstacle was the particular criteria built in to each of the academic disciplines concerned with the history of thought. Scholars wearing various academic allegiances were trying, with the aid of intellectual history, to overcome compartmentalization, but the standards and objectives of their own disciplines could not be given up. Consequently, the history they wrote was usually more technical and less truly historical than the work of the great nineteenth-century amateurs. In many cases both obstacles interfered simultaneously with a coherent view of intellectual history: authors who superimposed the pragmatic, comprehensive spirit of the New History upon an underlying commitment to a particular discipline were perhaps trying to realize too many objectives at once. Consider, for example, Joseph Dorfman's *Economic Mind in American Civilization* (5 vols., 1946-59) and Herbert Schneider's *History of American Philosophy* (1946). These were major achievements; but their attempt to deal comprehensively with ideas in social context, combined with their commitment to the technical criteria of a single discipline, prevented the attainment of a meaningful synthesis.

In radical opposition to the New History was the school of Arthur O. Lovejoy. This school had a genuinely historical interest in the intrinsic

¹⁸ See Perry's *Puritanism and Democracy* (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1944), and Miller's *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939).

character of ideas, a sublime disregard of instrumental considerations, and a determination to approach intellectual history without respect to the limits of individual disciplines. Yet here too we can observe the loss of a large view of intellectual history under the pressure of a particular academic commitment. A technical philosopher, fascinated by the method of logical analysis, Lovejoy taught a scholastic, mechanical kind of intellectual history, largely detached from a living culture. As one critic has remarked, Lovejoy spoke constantly of cutting into, breaking up and isolating ideas:¹⁴ operations more appropriate to a post mortem than to a parturition. Lovejoy brought an unprecedented precision to intellectual history, but he did so at the expense of a unifying vision. In lesser hands, his method of fine discriminations became a purely academic exercise, and his influence on the whole probably worked to atomize intellectual history at a time when other forces were also blurring its outlines.

Lovejoy's impact on the study of American thought was, however, peripheral. Very few professional philosophers since World War I have had much interest in American intellectual history; and none of them has illuminated it as brilliantly as Santayana and Dewey did in their early essays on the Genteel Tradition (1911) and the influence of Darwinism (1909).¹⁵ American sociology has had no Max Weber; American political theory has had no formidable historian.¹⁶ Undoubtedly this is due in some measure to the antihistorical turn that much contemporary thought has taken since World War I.¹⁷ At any rate, history in general and American intellectual history in particular aroused only sporadic interest outside of two disciplines most directly concerned: history and literature. We must, therefore, look closely at the field of

¹⁴ R. W. B. Lewis, "Spectroscope for Ideas," *Kenyon Review*, XVI (1954), 313-22.

¹⁵ "The Genteel Tradition in American Philosophy," in *Winds of Doctrine* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), pp. 186-215; *The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1910).

¹⁶ Eighteen years ago a student of American political theory pointed out the sterility and poverty of his colleagues' historical labors. Making allowances for some recent distinguished exceptions, the indictment has remained largely true. Benjamin F. Wright, "Research in American Political Theory," *Research in Political Science*, ed. Ernest S. Griffith (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), pp. 178-81.

¹⁷ In the nineteenth century, historical theories and knowledge were opening new horizons in every field of humane learning; and until the 1920s men of the stature of Santayana, Whitehead and Parrington wrote intellectual history with the object of clarifying current issues. In recent decades, however, original thinking in the social sciences, philosophy and literary criticism has gone more largely into analytical problems abstracted from the dimension of time. Whether an increasingly vigorous engagement with intellectual history may help to reverse the decline of historical consciousness in American culture remains to be seen.

literary scholarship to understand how intellectual history has fared outside of the historical guild.

In dealing with American intellectual history, literary scholars since the 1930s have been guided by the American Studies movement. It has enjoyed an influence comparable to that which the New History had on professional historians. Indeed, the two movements were strikingly similar. Each of them represented a protest against narrowly specialized horizons. Just as the New Historians wanted to go beyond the orthodox kind of political history, so the professors of American literature who were usually the prime movers in establishing American Studies programs¹⁸ were trying to break out of the orthodox kind of literary history. One group appealed for integration of ideas and events in a comprehensive view of the past; the other called for integrated study of art and society in a comprehensive view of "culture" or national character. Both hoped to link that past to the present—one in pursuit of reform, the other in search of identity. Both groups turned to intellectual history not because it was a natural focus of their respective endeavors but because it seemed an appropriate way of synthesizing heterogeneous materials. Thus the New Historians readily joined hands with their literary colleagues in sponsoring American Studies.

One result of American Studies, therefore, was to perpetuate the loose, indefinite conception of intellectual history that came out of the earlier revolt against formalism. Whereas the New History encouraged a pragmatic attitude toward ideas, American Studies was eclectic and experimental. In both cases the study of intellectual history gained in popularity and diversity, somewhat at the cost of coherence. Hostile toward compartmentalized knowledge and too diffuse in aim to maintain a consistent interest in ideas, most American Studies enthusiasts levied upon intellectual history for every purpose except its own.

In spite of the similarities between the New History and the American Studies movement, the latter brought a different emphasis into the writing of intellectual history. American Studies derived from its origins in literary scholarship a humanistic emphasis that was foreign to the New History. Robinson, Beard and their followers looked primarily to the social sciences rather than the humanities for support and cooperation. Their principal effort in respect to intellectual history was relating it to the history of politics and society. On the other hand, the stress in American Studies has lain more upon literature and values, particularly artistic ones. This has been an important contribution, offsetting the

¹⁸ Richard H. Shryock, "The Nature and Implications of Programs in American Civilization," *American Heritage*, III (April, 1949), 36.

rather matter-of-fact approach of the early New Historians. Literary scholars were trained to make the close textual analysis so often essential in grasping a man's thought. The methods of modern literary criticism enabled them to reach the ambiguous feelings and symbolic references that lurk beneath the surface of an historical document. When literary scholars began to apply such methods to materials other than conventional literary sources, they were in fact writing a new kind of intellectual history. This penetration in depth, first fully displayed in Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land* (1950), deserves as much credit as we give to the New History for extending the range of intellectual history.

Yet, in spite of the effort to be interdisciplinary, the demands of a particular discipline exacted their price. Although teachers of American literature produced a tremendous number of books and articles on what American intellectuals have thought and said, the results with rare exceptions were too specifically literary in interest to qualify fully as historical.

In distinguishing between literary and historical interests, I am not endorsing Bernard DeVoto's supercilious definition of the literary mind as the mind least adapted to the utilization of fact.¹⁹ But historians and literary scholars do tend, I think, to select and handle their facts differently. The student of literature, characteristically, chooses data that will get us, as directly as seems practicable, to an act of evaluation. The object under evaluation persists independently, in that we can read it ourselves without the literary scholar's evaluative assistance. The historian, however, constructs his object. Whereas the art of the past exists in its original form, the life of the past is accessible only in the form in which the historian casts it. The historian scores by arranging his facts into a self-explanatory whole; the literary scholar triumphs by enriching his facts, embroidering upon them the speculative insights and poetic images they evoke but do not wholly contain.

Literary criticism, therefore, and even literary history, are fundamentally unhistorical. Since an independent object controls the range of inquiry, the literary scholar is not impelled to give a complete account of how things were, to feel the density of a milieu or to appraise the relative weight of diverse factors in a situation. His explorations of intellectual history sacrifice wholeness for the sake of expressive power. He makes use of a world of ideas selectively, to illuminate a particular text or literary category; but the true historian makes use of texts selectively, to illuminate a world of ideas. Even in a work so authentically historical as *Virgin Land*, an interest in literary forms sometimes domi-

¹⁹ Bernard DeVoto, *Forays and Rebuttals* (New York, 1936), p. 185.

nates the story of the ideas flowing through them. More often, the avid pursuers of symbols and myths lose sight of any firm historical structure. One can conclude, therefore, that literary scholars made intellectual history functional to art, as professional historians made it functional to action; and like a lady of easy virtue, it slept wherever it had shelter.

So far I have dwelt largely on the period from the 1920s through the 1940s in order to show how the increasing popularity of intellectual history brought a new attention to methods and a confusion over ends. None of the difficulties that appeared then has disappeared in the last decade. A certain amount of confusion is probably inevitable and stimulating. Nevertheless, after the vigorous dispersal of the thirties and forties, intellectual history seems to be renewing its central purpose. If, as I think, a period of experimentation and controversy is passing, intellectual history may be returning—with far greater sophistication—to its traditional aim of discovering and explaining the spirit of an age. Surely the teaching as well as the writing of American intellectual history is more systematic and selective, more sharply focused on general beliefs and major thinkers, than it was a few years ago. None of the leading colleges or universities still offers the shapeless course that used to be called "Social and Intellectual History"; the disorder that Professor H. L. Swint discovered as recently as 1953²⁰ has markedly diminished.

Probably, one of the most important reasons for this clarification of goals is a more favorable attitude toward intellectual history in the historical profession at large. The pioneering is over; the historical guild has accepted the intellectual historian and respects his work. The old fogeyism that used to breathe distrust of ideas, unless they were treated as so many inert facts, no longer weighs heavily upon us. One still meets commonly the prejudice that intellectual history is "unreal" unless continuously linked to behavior, as if the movement of thought is somehow less free, or less capable of separate treatment, than the movement of other historical structures. But the insights of intellectual history have become so widely accepted into the corpus of American historiography, and so frequently drawn upon by historians primarily interested in other segments of experience, that the intellectual historian can tend his own garden if he wishes.

Another circumstance that is making for a more manageable and definite conception of intellectual history is the revival of American social history, unhappily eclipsed in the thirties and forties. Social history enjoyed a brilliant development in the 1920s through the sectional and

²⁰ H. L. Swint, "Trends in the Teaching of Social and Intellectual History," *Social Studies*, XLVI (1955), 243-49.

economic interpretations that Arthur M. Schlesinger, J. Franklin Jameson, Dixon Ryan Fox and Thomas J. Wertenbaker applied, under the influence of Beard and Turner, to its miscellaneous data. But the publication of the thirteen-volume *History of American Life* (1927-48) demonstrated that no adequate analytical scheme had yet been found. In the ideological thirties, social history as such fell into the background, and the livelier young minds turned to an extended kind of intellectual history, confident that an understanding of social history could best be attained in this more inclusive medium. Only recently has social history begun to escape from the embrace of ideology on the one hand and encyclopedism on the other, and to acquire a shape of its own from the quantitative methods and the structural interests of contemporary sociology. This development relieves the intellectual historian from over-extended commitments. It also engenders a healthy tension between two different but equally revealing types of historical patterns: the arrangement of ideas into a working system, and the arrangement of people into a functioning society. It is significant that a senior intellectual historian, Merle Curti, should move with fresh vigor into the newer social history, and that a young general historian, writing about slavery, should separate clearly its institutional from its intellectual setting.²¹

These alterations in the scholarly environment have been occurring under the favoring influence of a much larger change in contemporary thought. Since the 1940s pragmatism, and indeed the whole revolt against formalism, have lost their freshness and charm. When Carl Becker in his old age concluded ruefully that there were generalities that still glitter,²² when awesome destruction taught other intellectuals not to trust the course of history to vindicate their values, when the intractable dilemmas and the narrow range of alternatives in the postwar world came fully home, the disposition to appraise ideas chiefly from the point of view of their practical consequences received a decisive check. The activist temper of the New History, with its emphasis on direct, continual interchange between ideas and interests, fell out of fashion. Now it began to seem important to take stock of our intellectual assets and liabilities, instead of rushing them pell-mell to market.

The decline of a pragmatic approach to thought made for a greater interest in first principles, in values that have some ultimate claim and not a merely instrumental role. The celebrated "return to religion"

²¹ Merle Curti, *The Making of An American Community* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959); Stanley Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

²² Carl Becker, "Some Generalities That Still Glitter," in *New Liberties for Old* (New Haven, 1941).

may have failed in other respects, but it certainly roused the secular intellectual to a sympathetic scrutiny of religious ideas. Accordingly, the history of religious thought constitutes one of the outstanding cumulative achievements of American intellectual history in recent years. Just as the modern theological renaissance began before World War II, so the beginnings of a new kind of American intellectual history go back to Perry Miller's Puritan studies in the 1930s and, most explicitly, to H. Richard Niebuhr's *The Kingdom of God in America* (1937). In that book the author confessed that his earlier sociological approach had failed to explain either the underlying unity or the distinctive force of American Christianity. Since World War II the history of religious ideas has almost entirely superseded the old "church history." Moreover, intellectual history is taking on a more integrated character as the search for first principles bridges conventional distinctions between the pious and the profane. R. W. B. Lewis' *The American Adam* (1955), for example, gives a powerful rendering of social ideas by sounding their religious depths.

If all these changes do mean a renewal of the traditional aims of intellectual history, they do not cancel the efforts of the last generation. Literary scholars will undoubtedly continue to explore the relations between ideas and art. Most historians will continue to emphasize the relations between ideas and action. And rightly so. From one point of view, intellectual history must remain contributory to an appreciation and understanding of cultural achievements; from another point of view, intellectual history must remain contributory to that general history in which the whole of an age is dimly perceived. These perspectives still leave room and need, however, for a third point of view, in which neither art nor action, but feelings and ideas, stand in the center of vision.

This is not to say that any intellectual historian can afford to ignore concrete events and institutions. Even the most austere kind of intellectual history should, if it is fully historical, take account of the circumstances in which ideas arise and terminate. But most writers of American intellectual history have, I think, broken loose from the compulsion to refer ideas at every point to a structure of social action. Surely a better understanding of the problem is available if we stand far enough back to see a complex structure of opinion, bearing upon events at certain strategic points or in certain general directions. To understand the encounter of ideas with action in a massive way, we need a systematic view of the ideas.

To get such a view we seem to be moving, in one sense, toward greater specialization than has been customary. To restore, in the light of modern knowledge, the traditional aim of intellectual history calls for a paradoxical concentration of effort and rigorous training. The "pure" intellectual historian may have to leave the task of synthesis to the general historian, who moves between topical fields without final commitment to any one.

In another sense, however, the writing of intellectual history should become less specialized as scholars work out the complex patterns of thought that stamp a period, a movement or a major thinker. The comprehensive aspirations of the New History and of American Studies encouraged in practice a good deal of fragmentary work. The historians often fragmented ideas to fit them within events, while the literary scholars experimented with fragmentary perspectives. During the decade of the 1940s, 159 articles and 26 books about Herman Melville came out,²³ and perhaps for this reason we still do not have, so far as I know, a good over-all account of his intellectual life. Three years ago Stow Persons ventured the first serious attempt to periodize American intellectual history in terms of a sequence of dominant ideas. Even more recently, Henry May published the first detailed and integrated account, on a national scale, of a single period.²⁴ The specialized task of intellectual history today is one of constructing general designs.²⁵

What part in all of this will the American Studies movement have? Will it too become less experimental and more systematic? In what direction is this possible? Only a rash prophet would hazard an answer to such questions. It seems likely, however, that the unequal partnership between intellectual history and a presumably inclusive interest in American civilization will not endure unless—contrary to my argument—intellectual history stays very loose indeed.

²³ M.L.A. American Literature Group, *Report of the Committee on Trends in Research in American Literature, 1940-1950* (Baton Rouge, 1951), p. 69.

²⁴ Stow Persons, *American Minds: A History of Ideas* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1958); Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time, 1912-1917* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959).

²⁵ But see a recent statement about intellectual history that is antithetical to mine: Daniel J. Boorstin, *America and the Image of Europe* (New York: Meridian Books, 1960), pp. 43-78, which argues for an unstructured historiography that will reflect the formless homogeneity of American life.



Reviews

Conducted by Jane Knowles

Welcome Instruments for Thinking Men*

IF checklists, guides and bibliographies make research more efficient, they also bring their own inefficiencies.

Consider some young biographer of Ernest Poole. Would he not trade one week of library-grubbing, correspondence and even research funds for a handsomely printed list of the number of Poole letters, manuscripts and documents reposing in each of seventeen major libraries in the United States? With no effort he learns—from the checklist *American Literary Manuscripts*—that Indiana University holds one Poole manuscript and ten Poole letters, that the American Academy of Arts and Letters has three manuscripts, thirteen letters written by Poole, seventeen letters written to him, and four documents pertaining to his career. The grubbing, letter-writing and money have been provided by the Modern Language Association.

The gain seems pure and absolute. But we would do well to think of bibliographical aids as a kind of machinery. (How often these aids are, with unsuspected aptness, called "tools"!) What we acquire in cleanliness and convenience and economy we often lose elsewhere. One does not need to romanticize the medieval shoemaker to believe that along with its services the machine has introduced hazards into the modern world. The hazards of bibliographical machinery, as of other types, are in part social. Ever since scholars discovered American culture in the 1920s, we have witnessed the frightening proliferation of that species Emerson labeled a century ago "the bibliomaniacs." (I rush to add that I, too, have committed a bibliography.) For every Faulkner we have had a hundred souls pumping their energies into bibliomania. That may be the proper ratio for a state of high culture, but one is permitted to wonder.

Of the personal hazards attached to bibliographing, two are most pertinent here. For the beginning researcher, at least, a reliance on checklists and the like may prepare him badly rather than well for

**Archive of Recorded Poetry and Literature: A Checklist*. (Library of Congress, 1961. \$70); *American Literary Manuscripts: A Checklist of Holdings in Academic, Historical and Public Libraries in the United States*. Compiled by the Committee on Manuscript Holdings, American Literature Group, Modern Language Association of America. (University of Texas Press, 1960. \$5.00); *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States*. Compiled for the National Historical Publications Commission; Edited by Philip M. Hamer. (Yale University Press, 1961. \$12.50.)

mature research. It is one thing to read a list of library holdings; it is quite another to have created that list by writing letters, by visiting libraries, by talking with librarians, and by exercising ingenuity in tracking down little-known sources. With a list simply handed to him, the researcher has obtained information but learned nothing. All that has been stimulated in him is bookishness, passivity and indolence.

The other hazard to the individual is that inquiry becomes too patterned. A sense of openness, of freshness, of the possibility of making discoveries, is a valuable part of research—valuable for its own sake, and as a psychological condition for the best work. But with the annual and quarterly listings in *PMLA* and other journals at his elbow, with the Leary guide (revised and enlarged) to periodical articles, with Volume III of the *Literary History of the United States* and its supplement, with bibliographies of single artists, with the *Abstracts of English Studies*, with a dozen other charts, the graduate student or even the toughened researcher is likely to feel that the study he is about to undertake is routine indeed. How can we be surprised when the student, clutching his charts, turns mere pedant? Or when, scorning or fearing routine, he turns mere aesthetician? And how can we wonder that the essays he writes are either all anchor or all sail?

Yet why should we blame bibliographers that they have filled our shelves with machinery? We should not, or need not blame them—if we keep in mind that their guides are always restrictive as well as liberating, that as maps of the real world the guides are always fragmentary, and that their worth is always contingent upon some large, creative purpose behind their use.

Remembering these cautions, the teacher or student of American studies will find the three books under review very helpful. Directed more toward the teacher than the student, perhaps, is the *Archive of Recorded Poetry and Literature*. (Why poetry and literature? And as it happens, some of the entries are neither poems nor literature but interviews.) The *Archive* is a paperbound inventory of recordings of literary works and a few other items located in the Recording Laboratory at the Library of Congress. These recordings are chiefly of poetry readings, public lectures and interviews. Most of the speakers recorded are Americans, with a sprinkling of Englishmen and other nationalities.

Fortunately, variety appears to have been an organizing principle of the collection. There are interviews with Maurice Evans and H. L. Mencken, lectures by Thomas Mann and John O'Hara, readings by William Jennings Bryan, Robert Browning and James Whitcomb Riley. One can hear twenty-eight poets reading the same Shakespeare sonnet ("When in disgrace . . ."). Scores of prominent poets read their own

poems: from Auden to Allen Ginsberg, Muriel Rukeyser to Eliot, Wallace Stevens to Dylan Thomas. As though to impart a certain transcultural tone to the collection, the Library has recorded one Spanish voice (Francisco Aguilera), one Italian (Salvatore Quasimodo), one Norwegian (Tore Segelcke) and one Cantonese (Sum Nung Au-Young). Under "Wright, Frank Lloyd and Carl Sandburg," there is a cryptic note: "a discussion (with Alistair Cooke as moderator), October, 1957, in Chicago." Poetry? Literature? Where in Chicago?

Some of the recordings (78 or 33 1/3 rpm) are now on public sale. The greater number must be ordered individually and copyright or other permissions secured. (Write Chief of the General Reference and Bibliography Division, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D.C. Copies of the *Archive* checklist should be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.)

American Literary Manuscripts is a checklist of manuscript holdings for some 2,350 American authors, living and dead, in approximately 270 American libraries. Primarily a specialized volume for the literary scholar, its compilers (like their colleagues at the Library of Congress) conceive of "literature" broadly. Thus we find Samuel F. B. Morse, an inventor, painter and propagandist, amply represented. For broad-minded students, this is all to the good.

The compilation of this checklist involved considerable effort by many hands over several years. As the compilers point out, locating manuscripts is far more difficult than locating books or comparable items. Manuscripts are less likely to be catalogued in detail, may not be cross-referenced or indexed at all. To have this checklist, therefore, is to have an excellent beginning on one's quest for a particular writer's manuscripts.

It is not easy for anyone to predict, however, how far beyond this beginning *American Literary Manuscripts* will take him. The compilers, headed by Professor Joseph Jones at the University of Texas, express their awareness of this fact. "The accidents of life," they observe in an introductory note, "have preserved (or thus far brought to libraries) quantities of manuscript from some authors and little or none from others. The user must therefore not assume too much 'authority' for what he finds herein: the list is a limited series of statistical facts, only as extensive as the capabilities and the resources of the compilers would permit."

The compilers proceed to explain the reasons for this incompleteness, so that I shall content myself with illustrating it. The book contains entries for such contemporary American writers as Wright Morris or Howard Nemerov, but does not even mention by name two writers who

are historically or artistically no less important: Ralph Ellison and James Baldwin. Is it that Ellison and Baldwin have written few letters, saved few manuscripts? That their letters or manuscripts happen not to be on deposit at one of the 270 libraries? That their names were overlooked when the list of authors was made out? The checklist itself cannot tell us the answers, of course.

A parallel disproportion appears in the Library of Congress *Archive*, where Richard Eberhart is much more fully represented than Robinson Jeffers. *Caveat*.

A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States is the most ambitious volume of the three. Edited by Philip M. Hamer, onetime Professor of History at the University of Tennessee and now Executive Director of the National Historical Publications Commission, the *Guide* furnishes information on the holdings of about 1300 depositories in the fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone. It is organized geographically, by state or territory, then by local depository. The index is very complete.

The entry for Pittsfield, Massachusetts, is typical:

Berkshire Athenaeum. Robert G. Newman, Librarian.

Holdings: 20 vols. and 500 pieces, of the 18th and 19th centuries, relating chiefly to town and church history in Pittsfield and the vicinity. Included are Shaker books and papers, 18th and 19th centuries (250 pieces), among them 100 musical manuscripts; records of a Quaker church in Adams and other Quaker records, 18th and 19th centuries; statistics of other churches and religious bodies of the same period (20 vols.); and some 250 sermons. There are also more than 50 letters of Herman Melville (N. Y., Mass.; novelist) and his family.

(Checking *American Literary Manuscripts* under "Melville, Herman," we find the Berkshire Athenaeum holdings described as 1 manuscript, 1 journal or diary, 31 documents relating to Melville, 2 books containing marginalia by the author, a special collection of some sort, many letters to the author, and—not 50 but 13 letters by the author. Does the Athenaeum therefore possess over 37 letters written by members of Melville's family? Though the two guides mesh with each other more smoothly in this instance than in others, the friction has not been eliminated.)

Three welcome instruments, in short—for thinking men to subdue.

DAVID R. WEIMER, Rutgers University



ARTICLES IN AMERICAN STUDIES, 1960

This is the seventh issue of the annual annotated interdisciplinary bibliography of current articles in American Studies. Compiled primarily for those persons interested in the broad implications of American Civilization, it does not pretend to be a comprehensive listing of all items in the field that appeared during the year. Rather, it is quite selective, the principal editorial criterion for listing an article being the extent to which it manifests a relationship between two or more aspects of American Civilization. Even so, limitations of space make it impossible to print many items that the editor would otherwise include.

A section on *Law* has been added this year. Other categories have been retained as they were.

Items for the 1961 bibliography should be sent to Professor Donald N. Koster, Department of English, Adelphi College, Garden City, L. I., New York. They should be of interdisciplinary character.

The Committee on Bibliography of the American Studies Association of Metropolitan New York is responsible for this work:

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SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY: Sylvia F. Fava, Brooklyn College; Howard B. Kaplan, Baylor College of Medicine.

To indicate fields of interdisciplinary relevance, the following symbols have been employed:

A — Art & Architecture	MC — Mass Culture
E — Economics	MU — Music
ED — Education	P — Philosophy
F — Folklore	PSY — Psychiatry & Psychology
H — History & Political Science	PA — Public Address
L — Language	R — Religion
Law — Law	SC — Science & Technology
Lit — Literature & Drama	S — Sociology & Anthropology

ART & ARCHITECTURE

1792. "America Rebuilding; a Problem in Continuity," *Arch. Forum*, CXII (Jan. 1960), 85-150.

"After many a deviation and mistake, the evidence is that Americans are ready to apply themselves to the new exploration: really converting the Promised Land of the forefathers to the New Jerusalem of the children." (A-E-H-SC)

1793. Ashton, Dore. "La sculpture américaine," *XX^e Siècle*, XXII (Noël 1960), 85-91.

After first reviewing European origins, shows wherein contemporary American sculptors depart from the conventions. (A-H)

1794. Beirne, Rosamond Randall. "Two Anomalous Annapolis Architects: Joseph Horatio Anderson and Robert Key," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LV (Sept. 1960), 183-200.
Assessments of the work of two 18th-century American architects in relation to the Annapolis State House and St. Anne's Church. (A-H)
1795. Brooks, H. Allen Jr. "The Early Work of the Prairie Architects," *Soc. of Amer. Arch. Historians Jour.*, XIX (Mar. 1960), 2-10.
Sees in architectural, literary and social developments of this *fin de siècle* period a combined search for an American style. (A-H-Lit-S)
1796. Cantwell, Robert. "A Legend Comes to Life: Mark Catesby," *Sports Illustrated*, XIII (Oct. 31, 1960), 70-80.
Account of the great English naturalist-artist and his career in Byrd's colonial America. (A-H-Lit-S)
1797. Coffin, Annie Roulhac. "Maria Martin (1796-1863)," *Art Quar.*, XXIII (Autumn 1960), 281-299.
On the collaboration of this painter with John James Audubon. (A-H-SC)
1798. Cole, Wendell. "The Theatre Projects of Frank Lloyd Wright," *Educ. Theatre Jour.*, XII (May 1960), 86-93.
Although only two have been completed to date, Wright's projects over a period of 45 years embodied concepts of "continuity in space and plasticity in structure" which may yet profoundly influence American theatre design. (A-MC)
1799. Connally, Ernest Allen. "The Cape Cod House: an Introductory Study," *Soc. of Amer. Arch. Historians Jour.*, XIX (May 1960), 47-56.
Describes the Lower Cape house (1750-1850), with documentary evidence from Timothy Dwight and Henry David Thoreau. (A-H-Lit)
1800. Eaton, Leonard K. "Jens Jensen and the Chicago School," *Progressive Arch.*, XLI (Dec. 1960), 144-150.
Assesses the life, work and influence of Jensen (1860-1951), landscape artist. (A-Lit-MU-S)
1801. "Expanding Horizons," *A.I.A. Jour.*, XXXIII (June 1960), 29-102.
A record of the 1960 A.I.A. Convention at which ways and means for integrating the work of sociologists, technicians, economists and philosophers with that of the architect were discussed. (A-E-P-SC-S)
1802. "Fraktur Design," *Amer. Artist*, XXIV (May 1960), 26-29.
Discusses and illustrates *Fraktur-Schrift*, Pennsylvania-Dutch folk art. (A-F-H)
- 1803 Friedman, Martin, Edward Deming Andrews *et al.* "The Precisionists," *Art in America*, XLVIII (Fall 1960), 28-61.
"Geometry . . . seems to be with us still and again. Now the only question is, 'What do you call it?'" (A-E-H-P-R)
1804. Gebhard, David. "Louis Sullivan and George Grant Elmslie," *Soc. of Amer. Arch. Historians Jour.*, XIX (May 1960), 62-68.
The relationship between these two architects sheds light on the final period of Sullivan's work. (A-H)
1805. Getlein, Frank. "In the Light of Georgia O'Keeffe," *New Republic*, CXLIII (Nov. 7, 1960), 27-28.
Her paintings reveal an ordered universe through which her own and other art is illuminated. (A-P-S)

1806. Goldwater, Robert. "Reflections on the New York School," *Quadrum* 8 (1960), 17-36.
An attempt to define for an international audience "the coherence and multiplicity" of this American art. (A-P-R-SC)
1807. Goodrich, Lloyd, John Canaday *et al.* "New Talent USA: Great Expectations," *Art in America*, XLVIII (Spring 1960), 20-59; "Letters to Editor" (Summer 1960), 8-9.
Significant *avant-garde* movements in recent painting, sculpture, crafts, prints, photographs, architecture. (A-MC-H)
1808. Grohmann, Will. "Kunst an den Freiburger Universitätsbauten," *Quadrum* 9 (1960), 15-33.
A German appraisal of the reconstruction and new construction projects at Harvard. (A-ED-H)
1809. Gutheim, Frederick. "The Wright Legacy Evaluated," *Arch. Record*, CXVIII (Oct. 1960), 147-186.
Criticizes each distinct phase of structural form as developed by Wright, presenting a complete system of design for each. (A-H)
1810. Haskell, Douglas. "Jazz in Architecture," *Arch. Forum*, CXIII (Sept. 1960), 110-115.
Recommends that architects experiment with rhythmic change (as in jazz beat) to relieve monotony of "thin flat one-one-one-one rhythm." (A-MU)
1811. Hine, Robert V. "The Kern Brothers and the Image of the West," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXVIII (Oct. 1960), 351-361.
The drawings and scientific descriptions of Richard H., Edward M. and Benjamin J. Kern, members of Fremont's exploring parties, presented a realistic picture of the West which was distorted into the prevailing romantic conceptions by lithographers who reproduced their work. Illustrated. (A-H-SC)
1812. Katz, Leslie. "The Centenary of Maurice Prendergast," *Arts*, XXXV (Nov. 1960), 34-39.
Traces the life and work of this specialist in paintings of Americans at play. (A-S)
1813. Kepes, Gyorgy *et al.* "The Visual Arts Today," *Daedalus*, LXXXIX (Winter 1960), 1-268.
More than twenty interrelated essays dealing with cultural environment, artistic goals, newer media, relationships between art and science, aesthetic theories. (A-Lit-P-PSY-SC-S)
1814. Kolodin, Irving, ed. "The Candidates and the Arts," *Saturday Rev.*, XLIII (Oct. 29, 1960), 42-44.
Presidential candidates answer ten questions about "government recognition, encouragement, and assistance" for the arts. (A-H-MC)
1815. Korg, Jacob. "Modern Art Techniques in *The Waste Land*," *Jour. of Aesthetics & Art Criticism*, XVIII (June 1960), 456-463.
"Eliot and the painters...may say different things about the spiritual problems of their time; but they speak the same language." (A-Lit-P-R-SC)
1816. LaBudde, Kenneth J. "American Romanticism and European Painting," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Spring 1960), 95-101.
Essay-review of 1959 Council of Europe exhibition of romantic painting. American romantic painting failed to reach heights of European painting. (A-S)

1817. Lavanoux, Maurice. "Religious Art in the United States," *Liturgical Arts*, XXIX (Nov. 1960), 5-8.
Its history and implications from 1929 to 1960. (A-H-S)
1818. Leighton, George R. "World's Fairs: from Little Egypt to Robert Moses," *Harper's*, CCXXI (July 1960), 27-37; "The Year St. Louis Enchanted the World" (Aug. 1960), 38-47.
A look at the art galleries, museums, esplanades, plazas, fountains and other memorials, but with the moral: "*A world's fair is its own excuse.*" (A-E-H-MC)
1819. Lynes, Russell. "The Erosion of Detroit," *Harper's*, CCXX (Jan. 1960), 22-25; Watkins, A. M., "A Good House Nowadays Is Hard to Find" (Feb. 1960); Temko, Allan, "San Francisco Rebuilds Again" (Apr. 1960), 51-59.
Series dealing with the need to rebuild American cities. (For first article of this series see "Articles in American Studies, 1959," #1255.) (A-E-SC-S)
1820. McCracken, Harold. "Our Western Documentarians," *Amer. Artist*, XXIV (Mar. 1960), 22-27; 64-67.
The director of the Whitney Gallery of Western Art, Cody, Wyo., appraises the historical importance of the art collection. (A-H)
1821. McCravy, Porter, ed. *et al.* "International Look at the USA," *Art in America*, XLVIII (Summer 1960), 21-65.
British, Brazilian, Canadian, French, German, Japanese, Russian and Yugoslavian critics appraise recent developments in American art. (A-H)
1822. McQuade, Walter. "Architecture," *Nation*, CXC (Apr. 2, 1960), 302-303; (June 4, 1960), 498-500; CXCI (Sept. 30, 1960), 118-119.
Aesthetic principles for architecture in Washington, D. C.: the proposed Roosevelt Memorial; the National Shrine; Catholic University; Stone's preliminary plans for the National Cultural Center. (A-H-MC-P)
1823. "Old and New Romanticism," *Art in America*, XLVIII (Winter 1960), 20-55.
Includes: Sam Hunter, "The Romantic Outlook"; Henri Dorra, "Ryder and Romantic Painting"; Allen S. Weller, "The New Romanticism"; Ada Louise Huxtable, "Twentieth Century Architecture." (A-P)
1824. Reps, John W. "Town Planning in Colonial Georgia," *Town Planning Rev.*, XXX (Jan. 1960), 273-285.
Planned development of Georgia towns in the 1730s with special emphasis upon James Oglethorpe's Savannah. (A-H)
1825. Ringe, Donald A. "Horatio Greenough, Archibald Alison, and the Functionalist Theory of Art," *College Art Jour.*, XIX (Summer 1960), 314-321.
Alison's *Essays on Taste* echo in Greenough's criticism of architecture. (A-Lit-P)
1826. ———. "Painting as Poem in the Hudson River Aesthetic," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Spring 1960), 71-83.
Meanings of a key term in art criticism of the period. (A-P)
1827. Saarinen, Eero. "Campus Planning," *Arch. Record*, CXXVIII (Nov. 1960), 123-154.
Basic considerations for the individual buildings and for the campus as an architectural unit. (A-E-H-S-ED)

1828. Scanlon, Lawrence E. "Eakins as Functionalist," *College Art Jour.*, XIX (Summer 1960), 322-329.
"The tendency to think of land in terms of a dynamic process (function) instead of abstract principle (possession) established a precedent for . . . Eakins' work." (A-P-PSY)
1829. Schmidt, Carl F. "The Octagon Fad," *A.I.A. Jour.*, XXXIII (Mar. 1960), 42-48.
Orson Fowler—minister, phrenologist, author, architect—tried with his eight-sided house to curb the 19th-century Greek-revival craze. (A-H-S)
1830. Smith, Warren S. "New Man on the Campus," *Nation*, CXC (May 21, 1960), 444-447.
The artist-in-residence: history of the movement, theory, practice, hoped-for results. (A-ED)
1831. Soria, Regina. "Washington Allston's Lectures on Art: the First American Art Treatise," *Jour. of Aesthetics & Art Criticism*, XVIII (Mar. 1960), 329-344.
Critique of his Romantic, mature, independent criticism—"eloquent but unrhetorical." (A-Lit-P)
1832. Taft, Kendall B. "Adam and Eve in America," *Art Quar.*, XXIII (Summer 1960), 171-179.
The excitement created in America by the cleverly promoted tour (1832-35) of Claude Dubufe's two huge Adam and Eve paintings, done, according to the American promoter, for Charles X of France. (A-MC-H)
1833. "The Theater Automatique: Harvard's New Theater," *Arch. Forum*, CXIII (Oct. 1960), 90-98, 182.
"The Loeb Theater's integrated stage systems free the theater of mechanical drudgery and open it flexibly to all forms of drama." (A-Lit-SC)
1834. Thorp, Margaret Farrand. "Literary Sculptors in the Caffè Greco," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Summer 1960), 160-174.
"What 'art life' is and what it can do for the health of any nation the United States learned chiefly from the little band of stonemasons who, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, migrated to Rome." (A-S-Lit)
1835. "Ultimate Concerns—A Symposium on Religion and Art," *Ohio Univ. Rev.*, II (1960), 75-89.
A discussion of "the aesthetic and theological problems involved in Paul Tillich's definition of religion." (A-P-R)
1836. Woodall, Robert. "The White House," *Hist. Today*, X (Oct. 1960), 695-701.
The checkered history of the Executive Mansion and its progressive structural decay until the renovation of 1948-52. (A-H)

ECONOMICS

1837. Boeve, Charles. "Pigskin and Poetry," *Col. Quar.*, IX (Autumn 1960), 176-182.
Tongue-in-cheek analysis of the values of the "arts" of poetry and football in terms of the "affluent" age which finds consumption rather than production the proper aim of our new economic ethic. (E-H-Lit-MC)
1838. Clements, Roger V. "British Investment in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1870-1914, Its Encouragement, and the Metal Mining Interests," *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XXIX (Feb. 1960), 35-50.

"English mining enterprise figured hardly at all in the attacks on 'economic imperialism,' and indeed stood out as the most sought after . . . form of British investment west of the Mississippi." (E-H)

1839. Cox, Archibald. "Strikes and the Public Interest," *Atlantic*, CCV (Feb. 1960), 48-51.

Public interest in labor disputes is such that government must increase its role under new legislation. (E-H)

1840. Cropsey, Joseph. "On the Relation of Political Science and Economics," *Amer. Pol. Sc. Rev.*, LIV (Mar. 1960), 3-14.

Although the present autonomy of economics rests upon "an act of abdication by political philosophy," to understand the relation of political science to economics "we are compelled to undertake an act . . . of political philosophy." (E-H)

1841. Davis, L. E. and J. R. T. Hughes. "A Dollar-Sterling Exchange, 1803-1895," *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd series, XIII (Aug. 1960), 52-78.

An attempt to improve understanding of 19th-century exchange rates by presenting an entirely new series of quarterly data for dollar-sterling transactions. Concludes that the exchange rate was subject to considerable instability before the 1870s. (E-H)

1842. "Fertility Cult: USA," *Population Bull.*, XVI (Oct. 1960), 133-150.

Critique of the pressures which "advocate the biologically simple and emotionally pleasant expedient of having more babies as a panacea for all of our economic ills." (E-ED-MC-PSY-R-S)

1843. Galbraith, J. K. and T. R. Fyvel. "America and the Affluent Society," *Twentieth Cent.*, CLXVIII (Sept. 1960), 202-208.

Effect of advertising on sales of consumer goods in the United States and the impact of the rise in the American standard of living caused by this upon the Soviet Union and the American program of aid to underdeveloped countries. (E-S-MC)

1844. Hamilton, David. "The Not So Affluent Society," *Col. Quar.*, IX (Autumn 1960), 183-192.

The concept of an "affluent" society in America is a sociologists' myth. "Agonizing poverty exists among the aged, the migratory farm laborers, new ethnic elements . . . , the Negroes . . . , and in depressed regions." (E-S-H)

1845. Hardman, J. B. S. "The Needle-Trades at Fifty," *Social Research*, XXVII (Autumn 1960), 320-358.

Reviews changes in the fifty years' history of the ILGWU and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. (E-H-S)

1846. Heilbroner, Robert L. "Epitaph for the Steel Master," *Amer. Heritage*, XI (Aug. 1960), 4-9, 107-111.

A re-examination of Carnegie's career in the light of his expressed philosophy of wealth. (E-H)

1847. Hill, Herbert. "Migratory Agricultural Labor—The Story of a National Crisis," *Dissent*, VII (Summer 1960), 244-266.

Survey of the deplorable conditions of these workers. (E-S-SC)

1848. Johnson, Robert C. "The 'Running Lotteries' of the Virginia Company," *Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXVIII (Apr. 1960), 156-165.

Transcripts of and commentaries on documents relating to the English lotteries (1612-21) used in the financing of the Company. (E-H)

1849. Kirkland, Edward C. "The Robber Barons Revisited," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LXVI (Oct. 1960), 68-73.

An evaluation of revisionism in recent writings on the post-Civil War period. (E-H)

1850. Klaw, Spencer. "The Affluent Professors," *Reporter*, XXII (June 23, 1960), 16-25.
The economic transformation of academic life and its effect on the university. (E-ED-S)
1851. Manchester, William. "The Great Bank Holiday," *Holiday*, XXVII (Feb. 1960), 60 & 143.
The immediate effects of the Roosevelt bank holiday of 1933. (E-H)
1852. McLellan, David S. and Charles E. Woodhouse. "The Business Elite and Foreign Policy," *Western Pol. Quar.*, XIII (Mar. 1960), 172-190.
Analyzes the power exercised by "fundamentalist" and "progressive" segments of the business elite in major post-World War II programs of international economic policy. (E-H)
1853. Melder, F. Eugene. "The 'Tin Lizzie's' Golden Anniversary," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Winter 1960), 466-481.
"The central place of the automobile in the material organization and culture of American society properly began with the Model T Ford." (E-MC-S)
1854. Miller, Helen Hill. "Private Business and Public Education in the South," *Harvard Bus. Rev.*, XXXVIII (July-Aug. 1960), 75-88.
The social and economic problems that a decade of controversy over desegregation has occasioned for Southern businessmen. (E-ED-S)
1855. Parish, William J. "The German Jew and the Commercial Revolution in Territorial New Mexico 1850-1900," *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV (Jan., Apr. 1960), 1-29, 129-150.
The German Jewish merchant was the moving force in the commercial transformation of the territory as well as a catalytic influence in linking its several cultures. (E-H-S)
1856. Reynolds, Robert L. "The Coal Kings Come to Judgment," *Amer. Heritage*, XI (Apr. 1960), 54-61, 94-100.
John Mitchell and the great anthracite strike of 1902 which brought an end to "economic feudalism" in the mining industry. (E-H)
1857. Schlesinger, James R. "Organized Labor and the Intellectuals," *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXXVI (Spring 1960), 36-45.
The disillusionment of the intellectual with the labor movement. (E-H)
1858. Wilson, George W. "Democracy and the Modern Corporation," *Western Pol. Quar.*, XIII (Mar. 1960), 45-56.
The internal and external relationship between the concept of democracy and the larger corporations. The corporation is inherently undemocratic in terms of the source and use of its power. (E-H)

EDUCATION

1859. Barzun, Jacques. "The Cults of 'Research' and 'Creativity,'" *Harper's*, CCXXI (Oct. 1960), 69-74.
Two terms that have become honorifics disguise our intellectual shame of being unwilling to judge. (ED-S-L)
1860. Ben-Horin, Meir. "Major Writings in American Jewish Education," *Jewish Ed.*, XXX (Spring 1960), 4-15.
A review of the past thirty years which concludes that "Jewish educational thought expressed itself in single and collected essays, in monographs, in scattered articles but not in sustained writing which issues forth in full-scale treatment." (ED-R)

1861. Butts, R. Freeman. "Search for Freedom: The Story of American Education," *NEA Jour.*, XLIX (Mar. 1960), 33-48.
 Sketches development of American education in the context of American civilization. (ED-H)
1862. Carpenter, Frederic I. "Fiction and the American College," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Winter 1960), 443-456.
 Sketches the images of the American college embodied in the principal academic novels of the past half-century. (ED-H-Lit-S)
1863. Conroy, Graham P. "Berkeley and Education in America," *Jour. of Hist. of Ideas*, XXI (Apr.-June 1960), 211-221.
 The profound personal influence of the Irish philosopher on early American educators in general and Samuel Johnson in particular. (ED-H-P)
1864. Cremin, Lawrence A. "The Origins of Progressive Education," *Ed. Forum*, XXIV (Jan. 1960), 133-140.
 Emergence of the progressive education movement as a key phase of American Progressivism in the quarter-century before World War I. (ED-H-MC-S)
1865. Donohue, John W. "John Dewey: Centennial of an Educator," *Cath. Ed. Rev.*, LVIII (Jan. 1960), 16-27.
 A thoughtful critique of Dewey's educational ideas from a Roman Catholic viewpoint, contending that these ideas have a definite contribution to make to Christian thinking. (ED-P-R)
1866. Du Bois, W. E. B. "A Negro Student at Harvard at the End of the 19th Century," *Mass. Rev.*, I (May 1960), 439-458.
 Life and activities of the author at Harvard; consideration of the race problem. (ED-H-P-S)
1867. Fishman, Joshua A. "American Higher Education in Current Social Perspective," *Teachers College Record*, LXII (Nov. 1960), 95-105.
 The tensions associated with its popularization since World War II. (ED-MC-S)
1868. Foster, G. W. Jr. "1960: Turning Point for Desegregation," *Saturday Rev.*, XLIII (Dec. 17, 1960), 52-54, 65-68.
 1960 marked a turning point insofar as the issue narrowed down to one simple choice—complying with the law or abandoning public education. (ED-H-S)
1869. Furness, Edna Lou. "The Image of the High School Teacher in American Literature," *Ed. Forum*, XXIV (May 1960), 457-464.
 Criticizes the distorted stereotype of teachers and teaching in recent literature. (ED-Lit-S)
1870. Goodman, Paul. "Youth in the Organized Society," *Commentary*, XXIX (Feb. 1960), 95-107; "The Calling of American Youth," (Mar. 1960), 217-229; "In Search of Community," (Apr. 1960), 315-323.
 Major problems of contemporary American youth in a society which appears to them as "an apparently closed room in which there is a large rat race as the dominant center of attention." (ED-MC-S)
1871. Hacker, Andrew. "The Rebelling Young Scholars," *Commentary*, XXX (Nov. 1960), 404-412.
 Emerging Marxist radicalism among American graduate students as revealed in some university publications. (ED-H-S)

1872. Haselmayer, Louis A. "Das Deutsche Kollegium: Wesleyan's Teutonic Past," *Annals of Ia.*, XXXV (Winter 1960), 206-215.

The founding and subsequent development of a German college on the campus of Iowa Wesleyan to train Methodist ministers for service in German-speaking churches. (ED-H-R)

1873. Hough, C. Merrill. "Two School Systems in Conflict: 1867-1890," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXVIII (Apr. 1960), 113-128.

Conflict between Mormon schools and mission schools sponsored by other churches, especially Protestant Episcopal, finally ceased when public school system was adopted. (ED-R-H)

1874. Lilge, Frederic. "John Dewey in Retrospect: an American Reconsideration," *British Jour. of Ed. Studies*, VIII (May 1960), 99-111.

Dewey's diagnosis of cultural crisis has lost its relevance not only because times have changed but also because of the basic inadequacy of his philosophy. (ED-P-H-S)

1875. Lippitt, Gordon L., ed. "Training for Political Participation," *Jour. of Social Issues*, XVI (#1, 1960), 1-70.

Symposium including 12 articles on political education in such groups as the Chamber of Commerce, labor unions, Democratic and Republican National Committees, League of Women Voters. (ED-H-S)

1876. Machle, Edward. "The State University and Religion," *Col. Quar.* VIII (Winter 1960), 280-287.

The relationship between individual churches and state universities where religion is taught remains largely unresolved at the present time. However, any particular theology can be taught only as an historical, sociological or philosophical discipline. (ED-R-P)

1877. Manzella, David B. "John Dewey and the Materialism of Art Education," *College Art Jour.*, XX (Fall 1960), 19-21.

A systematized objection to the use of Dewey's *Art as Experience* (1934) as "the book on art education." (ED-A-P)

1878. McIntosh, Millicent C. "The Courage of the Young," *Atlantic*, CCVI (Nov. 1960), 64-66.

Sympathetic study of the problems of young married students. (ED-S)

1879. Metzger, Walter P. "On Youth and Conformity," *AAUP Bull.*, XLVI (Winter 1960), 357-360.

Current tendencies toward conformity among American youth and the failure of adults to provide freedom for the playing of irregular roles. (ED-MC-S)

1880. "Negro Education in the United States," *Harvard Ed. Rev.*, XXX (Summer 1960), 177-297.

Several articles exploring the legal and sociological meanings of the desegregation movement for Negro education. (ED-H-Law-PSY-S)

1881. Rankin, Walter H. "Money for Minerals but Not a Cent for Athletics at Augusta College," *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, XXXIV (Apr. 1960), 136-139.

How a trustee of a Methodist college raised \$1500 to purchase a collection of minerals for his institution. (ED-R-SC).

1882. Riesman, David. "The Uncommitted Generation," *Encounter*, XV (Nov. 1960), 25-30.

Holds "defeatist attitudes" among American college students responsible for their "silent revolution against work." (ED-MC-S)

1883. Rivers, William L. "Segregation Costs Money," *Reporter*, XXIII (Dec. 8, 1960), 26-27.

The politics and economics of the Virginia "tuition grant" plan to circumvent school desegregation. (ED-H-S)

1884. Ross, Earle D. "Contributions of Land-Grant Education to History and the Social Sciences," *Agricultural Hist.*, XXXIV (Apr. 1960), 51-61.

Land-grant colleges contributed significantly to applying the findings of the social sciences as well as the physical sciences. (ED-H)

1885. ———, ed. "Letters of an Engineering Student in the 1880's," *Annals of Ia.*, XXXV (Fall 1960), 434-453.

Impressions of George L. Schermerhorn, later connected with General Electric, while at the Iowa State Agricultural School. (ED-H)

1886 Sherman, George. "The Nightmare Comes to New Orleans," *Reporter*, XXIII (Dec. 8, 1960), 24-26.

The politics of school desegregation in Louisiana. (ED-H-S)

1887. "Special John Dewey Issue," *Teacher Ed. Quar.*, XVII (Spring 1960), 81-124.

Six essays exploring Dewey's philosophical and educational ideas and their continued relevance to American life. (ED-H-P)

1888. "The Negro Private and Church-Related College," *Jour. Negro Ed.*, XXIX (Summer 1960), 211-407.

Twenty-three articles discuss the history, rationale, policies, and future of this type of college in the United States. (ED-H-R-S)

1889. Warde, William F. "John Dewey's Theories of Education," *International Socialist Rev.*, XXI (Winter 1960), 5-8; "The Fate of Dewey's Theories," XXI (Spring 1960), 54-57, 61.

Dewey's educational theories from a Socialist point of view. (ED-H-P-S)

1890. Widmer, Kingsley. "The Academic Comedy," *Partisan Rev.*, XXVII (Summer 1960), 526-535.

The "novel of academic life threatens to become yet another of those self-perpetuating sub-genres of the American narrative in search of significant society." (ED-Lit-S)

1891. Wilkerson, Doxey A. "The Negro School Movement in Virginia: From 'Equalization' to 'Integration,'" *Jour. of Negro Ed.*, XXIX (Winter 1960), 17-29.

Documents the role of militant and articulate Negroes. (ED-H-S)

1892. Woolverton, John F. "Philip Lindsley and the Cause of Education in the Old Southwest," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XIX (Mar. 1960), 3-22.

The clergyman-President of the University of Nashville, 1824-50, labored to improve education in the Old Southwest in the face of denominational and sectional rivalries. (ED-R-H)

1893. ———. "William Augustus Muhlenberg and the Founding of St. Paul's College," *Hist. Mag. of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXIX (Sept. 1960), 192-218.

His educational ideas seen as pragmatic and functional, in some ways anticipating John Dewey's. (ED-R-H-P)

FOLKLORE

1894. Anderson, Mary Tutwiler. "Mountain People," *Tenn. Folklore Soc. Bull.*, XXVI (Dec. 1960), 87-92.

Real mountaineers are a race apart, with a peculiar language, music, customs and superstitions. Examples of their humor and quaint beliefs. (F-L-MU)

1895. Bradley, F. W. "Charles Guiteau," *So. Folklore Quar.*, XXIV (Dec. 1960), 281-284.

Two versions of the ballad about the man who shot and killed President James A. Garfield. (F-H-MU)

1896. Bromberg, Erik. "Frontier Humor: Plain and Fancy," *Ore. Hist. Quar.*, LXI (Sept. 1960), 261-342.

Presents no thesis but offers many samples of Pacific Northwest humor including Finnish immigrant, Indian, Railroad, the high and mighty put down—all heavy handed and racy. (F-H)

1897. Carleton, William G. "The Celebrity Cult of a Century Ago," *Ga. Rev.*, XIV (Summer 1960), 133-142.

Artistic values of the folk expressed themselves mainly through oratory. "The orator was the folk celebrity, honored, even worshipped, as such." (F-PA-H)

1898. Carrigan, Jo Ann. "Early Nineteenth Century Folk Remedies," *La. Folklore Misc.*, I (Jan. 1960), 43-61.

The close association between folk medicine and medical science. (F-SC)

1899. Clay, George L. "Children of the Young Republic," *Amer. Heritage*, XI (Apr. 1960), 46-53.

Fables and folk art regarding child-rearing practices in early America. (F-ED)

1900. Gerdts, William H. "Henry Inman in New Jersey," *Proceedings of the N.J. Hist. Soc.*, LXXVIII (July 1960), 178-187.

Folk art by Inman in New Jersey during the mid-19th century. (F-A-H)

1901. Jones, Louis C. and Agnes H. "New-Found Folk Art of the Young Republic," *N.Y. Hist.*, XLI (Apr. 1960), 117-231.

Fables regarding folk art and discussion of definition of the term "folk art." (F-A)

1902. Kernodle, Wayne. "Last of the Rugged Individualists," *Harper's*, CCXX (Jan. 1960), 46-51.

The Southern Mountaineer as folk hero is now sentenced to extinction. (F-S)

1903. Merritt, Arthur H. "Dr. Syntax & Company: The 'Literary Series' on Old Blue China," *N.Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLIV (July 1960), 236-258.

Folk tales on old blue china. (F-Lit)

1904. Powell, Beatrice. "The Old Fashioned Association," *Ky. Folklore Record*, VI (July-Sept. 1960), 77-87.

The annual meeting of the Baptist churches of three or four counties in Kentucky, at which preaching, socializing and idea-exchanging occurred. (F-R-MC)

1905. Reaver, J. Russell. "Teaching Folklore to College Students," *So. Folklore Quar.*, XXIV (Sept. 1960), 242-248.

A confusing variety of training in folklore is offered by some 307 American colleges and universities. (F-ED)

1906. Roppolo, Joseph P. "Folklore in Louisiana Drama: A Challenge," *La. Folklore Misc.*, I (Jan. 1960), 65-81.

Examines use of folk materials in American drama from 1753 to date. (F-Lit)

1907. Rudolph, Marilou A. "George Cooke and His Paintings," *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XLIV (June 1960), 117-153.
Folk art by Cooke in mid-19th century. (F-A)
1908. Sandruf, Ivan. "As I Am Now So You Must Be," *Amer. Heritage*, XI (Feb. 1960), 38-43.
Tale of a New England Puritan burial ground which honors the dead and warns the living. (F-H)
1909. Simmons, Merle L. "Pre-Conquest Narrative Songs in Spanish America," *Jour. of Am. Folklore*, LXXIII (Apr.-June 1960), 103-112.
When the Spanish conquerors of the 16th century brought to America their vigorous ballad tradition, they found that the inhabitants of the New World were singing songs which recalled to them their own narrative poems. (F-H-MU)
1910. Smith, Helen B. "Nicholas Biddle Kittell (1822-1894): A Forgotten New York State Artist," *N.Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLIV (Oct. 1960), 394-412.
Folk artist. (F-A)
1911. Snook, Sidney. "Echoes on the Rivers," *Midwest Folklore*, X (Summer 1960), 70-78.
The steamboats which plied our Western waters left their echoes in song and story. (F-H-MU)
1912. Strout, Mary Graves. "The Wild West for Puppets," *Tenn. Folklore Bull.*, XXVI (Sept. 1960), 55-62.
Folklore furnishes material for the modern entertainment world, as evidenced in current Broadway productions, and the author's play for puppets, "West of the Pecos." (F-Lit-MC)
1913. Walrich, Bill. "Superstition and the Air Force," *Western Folklore*, XIX (Jan. 1960), 11-17.
How the Air Force, in existence for only half a century, has already developed a vast folklore peculiarly its own. (F-S-H)

HISTORY & POLITICAL SCIENCE

1914. Adams, Francis R. Jr. "Robert E. Lee and the Concept of Democracy," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Fall 1960), 367-373.
Although Lee was not fitted to make a contribution to democratic theory, his acceptance of defeat conferred dignity on the concept of a minority. (H-P)
1915. Arnow, Harriette Simpson. "The Pioneer Farmer and His Crops in the Cumberland Region," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XIX (Dec. 1960), 291-327.
From the first settlements down to the 1850s. Based in part on farm inventories. (H-E-S)
1916. Arrington, Leonard J. and Ralph W. Hansen. "Mormon Economic Organization: A Sheaf of Illustrative Documents," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXVIII (Jan. 1960), 41-55.
Broadsides from Church headquarters to local communities concerning food conservation, agricultural price control, telegraph construction, immigration, wool tithing and temple construction. (H-E-R)
1917. Berthoff, Rowland. "The American Social Order: A Conservative Hypothesis," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LXV (Apr. 1960), 495-514.
One of the most significant trends in American history has been the reintegration of society in reaction to the disorderliness of the liberal 19th century. The pattern now evolving in 20th-century America is, therefore, a conservative one. (H-S)

1918. Bishop, George W. Jr. "New England Journalist: Highlights in the Newspaper Career of Charles H. Dow," *Bus. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV (Spring 1960), 77-93.
Stresses Dow's contribution to the development of financial journalism in the U.S. rather than the stock-market theory which he elaborated. (H-E-MC)
1919. Boller, Paul F. Jr. "George Washington and Religious Liberty," *William & Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., XVII (Oct. 1960), 486-506.
The relationship between Washington and various religious groups, including Quaker pacifists. Washington was "a typical eighteenth century deist." (H-R)
1920. ———. "George Washington and the Quakers," *Bull. of Friends Hist. Assoc.*, XLIX (Autumn 1960), 67-83.
During the Revolution Washington bore the pacifism of the Quakers with restraint and humanity. Later he welcomed their support of the Constitution, their peace efforts with the Indians, but had mixed feelings about their antislavery agitation and was irritated by Logan's peace mission in France. (H-R)
1921. Brown, Stuart Gerry. "Civil Rights and National Leadership: Eisenhower and Stevenson in the 1950's," *Ethics*, LXX (Jan. 1960), 118-134.
Stevenson's leadership was much more constructive in civil rights than Eisenhower's. (H-P)
1922. Cassen, Anthony L., ed. "Surveying the First Railroad Across Iowa, The Journal of John I. Blair," *Annals of Ia.*, XXXV (Summer 1960), 321-362.
Account of the New Jersey engineer's 1863 expedition to find the most economical route for a railroad across north-central Iowa to the Missouri River. (H-E)
1923. Clark, Ella E., ed. "Life on the C&O Canal: 1859," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LV (June 1960), 82-122.
Trials, tribulations and technics of barge life. (H-S)
1924. Colton, Kenneth E. "John Frink and Company, 1846-1854," *Annals of Ia.*, XXXV (Fall 1960), 401-433.
The competition between Iowa stagecoach companies for mail contracts and passenger service. (H-E)
1925. ———. "The Stagecoach Comes to Iowa," *Annals of Ia.*, XXXV (Winter 1960), 161-186.
In the late 1830s it served primarily as a means of mail transportation. (H-E)
1926. Cranston, Pat. "Political Convention Broadcasts: Their History and Influence," *Journalism Quar.*, XXXVII (Spring 1960), 186-195.
Traces coverage by radio (since 1924) and TV (since 1940) and discusses varying estimates of their impact. (H-MC-PA)
1927. Crouter, Richard E. and Andrew F. Rolle. "Edward Fitzgerald Beale and the Indian Peace Commissioners in California, 1851-1854," *Hist. Soc. of So. Cal. Quar.*, XLII (June 1960), 107-132.
White-Indian relations and the pioneering efforts of Beale to establish Indian reservations and experimental farms. (H-S)
1928. Davis, K. and J. Blake. "Birth Control and Public Policy," *Commentary*, XXIX (Feb. 1960), 115-122.
Presents data on the divergence between the practices of American Roman Catholic laymen and official Roman Catholic doctrine. (H-R-S)

1929. DeFalla, Paul M. "Lantern in the Western Sky," *Hist. Soc. of So. Cal. Quar.*, XLII (Mar.-June 1960), 57-88, 161-185.
Causes and aftermath of a Los Angeles riot that led to the lynching of 17 Chinese-Americans in 1871. (H-S)
1930. Deininger, Whitaker T. "T. D. Weldon on Politics and Philosophy," *Western Pol. Quar.*, XIII (Mar. 1960), 19-30.
Characterizes Weldon's notions of what politics and political appraisals are about and analyzes his conception of the philosopher's task with some key words in the political vocabulary. (H-P)
1931. "Documents Behind the Population Controversy," *Population Bull.*, XVI (Jan. 1960), 1-23.
Long excerpts or full reprints of U.S. government and religious organization statements. (H-R-S)
1932. Douglass, Elisha P. "German Intellectuals and the American Revolution," *William & Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., XVII (Apr. 1960), 200-218.
German literary intellectuals, including Schiller, generally identified themselves with the aspirations of the colonies, although some followed the Tory position. (H-Lit)
1933. Doyle, Elisabeth J. "Nurseries of Treason: Schools in Occupied New Orleans," *Jour. of Southern Hist.*, XXVI (May 1960), 161-179.
Despite efforts by Federal officials to bring loyalty to the United States into the curriculum, Confederate sentiments remained strong in the public and private schools during the Civil War occupation. (H-ED)
1934. Duker, Abraham G. "An Evaluation of Achievement in American Jewish Local Historical Writing," *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, XLIX (June 1960), 215-264.
A state-by-state analysis of trends in American-Jewish historiography finds interest confined largely to the Eastern seaboard, emphasis placed on the early period, and scholarship, while improving, uneven and often filiopietistic. (H-R)
1935. Emrich, Duncan. "A Certain Nicholas of Patara," *Amer. Heritage*, XII (Dec. 1960), 22-27.
The transformation of Saint Nicholas from a religious figure to a secular Santa Claus of universal popularity dates from 1809 and was largely of American inspiration. (H-MC-R)
1936. Evans, John Whitney. "Catholics and the Blair Education Bill," *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XLVI (Oct. 1960), 273-298.
Between 1880 and 1890 constitutional, sectarian and sectional controversy raged around the bill for federal support of education introduced several times by Senator Blair of New Hampshire. "It is significant that Catholics opposed the measure ideologically only on the issues of constitutionality and paternalism that it broached, and limited their other objections to questions of practicability." (H-R-ED)
1937. Fein, Isaac M. "Niles' Weekly Register on the Jews," *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, XLIX (Sept. 1960), 3-22.
While Editor Hezekiah Niles was bitterly opposed to anti-Semitism, his newspaper often criticized Jews for "abhorrent" characteristics. (H-MC-R)
1938. Freund, Miriam. "Make My Eyes Look to the Future," *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, XLIX (Mar. 1960), 159-172.
Biographical sketch of Henrietta Szold, founder of Hadassah, proponent of modern education and pioneer in the movement for educating the European immigrant. (H-ED-R)

1939. Fried, Albert, ed. "J. S. Clarkson Letter on Civil Rights," *Annals of Ia.*, XXXV (Winter 1960), 216-225.

A ringing defense of the Negro in 1907 addressed to General James B. Weaver, Greenback and Populist presidential candidate. (H-S)

1940. Garrett, Jane N. "Philadelphia and Baltimore, 1790-1840: A Study in Intra-Regional Unity," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LV (Mar. 1960), 1-18. The economic, cultural and religious ties which bound Maryland and Pennsylvania together and made Baltimore and Philadelphia rivals. (H-S-E-R)

1941. Genovese, Eugene D. "The Medical and Insurance Costs of Slaveholding in the Cotton Belt," *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XLV (July 1960), 141-155.

The financial drain of necessary medical attention as well as protective insurance against the economic losses occasioned by the illness, death or disability of slaves were significant items in the profit and loss statements of Southern plantations. (H-E)

1942. Glantz, Oscar. "The Negro Voter in Northern Industrial Cities," *Western Pol. Quar.*, XIII (Dec. 1960), 999-1010.

A study to gain a precise measure of the extent to which the Negro body politic has altered its pattern of political participation and preference in the last three presidential elections. (H-S)

1943. Griffin, Richard W. "Manufacturing Interests of Mississippi Planters, 1810-1832," *Jour. of Miss. Hist.*, XXII (Apr. 1960), 110-122.

Important Mississippi planters urged the manufacture of cotton textiles in the South and supported the American System of Clay while planters in South Carolina and Georgia were in opposition. (H-E)

1944. _____ "Poor White Laborers in Southern Cotton Factories, 1789-1865," *S.C. Hist. Mag.*, LXI (Jan. 1960), 26-40.

The manufacture of cotton in the South originated in South Carolina in 1789. Southern poor white laborers, unlike their counterpart in Northern mills, were docile and seldom caused trouble. (H-E)

1945. Harrison, Lowell H. "John Breckenridge of Kentucky: Planter, Speculator, and Businessman," *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, XXXIV (July 1960), 205-227.

His life in Kentucky, his farming, horses, land speculation, interest in iron works, dealing in and management of slaves and his interest in internal improvements. (H-E)

1946. Harstad, Peter T. "Sickness and Disease on the Wisconsin Frontier: Malaria, 1820-1850," *Wisc. Mag. of Hist.*, XLIII (Winter 1959-1960), 83-96.

Malaria, "at a level of epidemicity in Wisconsin throughout the 1840's," affected the state's pioneer history by discouraging settlement in the areas where serious outbreaks had occurred. (H-S-SC)

1947. Hart, Oaxton. "The Making of Menominee County," *Wisc. Mag. of Hist.*, XLIII (Spring 1960), 181-188.

The creation in 1959 of this Indian county in Wisconsin "establishes a precedent that may serve as a guide to future handling of Indian affairs" in other states. (H-S)

1948. Hayes, Robert V. "Law Enforcement in Frontier Mississippi," *Jour. of Miss. Hist.*, XXII (Jan. 1960), 27-42.

Law enforcement was upheld in territorial Mississippi about as well as in the more settled regions of the East. (H-Law-F)

1949. Hazard, Leland. "It Takes Money to Get Elected," *Atlantic*, CCV (Feb. 1960), 92-96.

Endorses revised regulations for campaign contributions so that both corporations and unions could devote funds. (H-E)

1950. Hinckley, Ted and Caryl. "Overland from St. Louis to the California Gold Fields in 1849: The Diary of Joseph Waring Berrien," *Ind. Mag. of Hist.*, LVI (Dec. 1960), 273-352.

A candid account of a conventional California-bound wagon train, rich in description of the obstacles to be overcome. (H-Lit)

1951. Hindman, Jane F. "The Irishman who Developed American Culture," *Records of the Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. of Philadelphia*, LXXI (Mar.-June 1960), 23-30.

Life and work of Mathew Carey, Irish Anglophobe who fled to Philadelphia, championed the ratification of the Constitution, printed the King James Version of the Bible and became a journalist and pamphleteer. (H-R-Lit)

1952. Hirsch, Jessie Heckman. "The Great White City," *Amer. Heritage*, XI (Oct. 1960), 8-20, 75.

The lasting effects of the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893. (H-A-MC-SC)

1953. Hsu, Francis L. K. "Rugged Individualism Revisited," *Col. Quar.*, IX (Autumn 1960), 143-162.

The American concept of "rugged individualism" is outmoded and dangerous in the modern world. With its emphasis on "cutthroat competition" and "creativity," it is held responsible in American life today for juvenile delinquency, corrupt sex practices, "white collar crime," conformity, religious and racial bias, unrealistic international relations and overly-organized religion. (H-Lit-MC-S)

1954. Hughes, H. Stuart. "The Historian and the Social Scientist," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LXVI (Oct. 1960), 20-46.

Analyzes the relationship of history to the various social sciences and concludes that history as a discipline plays a mediating role between the social sciences and literature. (H-P-E-PSY-S-Lit)

1955. Inlow, William D. "The Indiana Physician as Geologist and Naturalist," *Ind. Mag. of Hist.*, LVI (Mar. 1960), 1-35.

Several played important roles in the development of the natural sciences in that state in the 19th century. (H-SC-ED)

1956. Irish, Marian D. "Political Thought and Political Behavior in the South," *Western Pol. Quar.*, XIII (June 1960), 406-420.

Analyzes several key pressure groups and concludes that politics in the South—as everywhere—"is the struggle for power among organized groups," and that there is no Solid South. (H-S)

1957. Jonas, Manfred. "The Wills of the Early Settlers of Essex County, Massachusetts," *Essex Inst. Hist. Collections*, XCVI (July 1960), 228-235.

An analysis of the wills according to occupational groups, estate values, etc., prior to 1681. Merchants were the wealthiest group and accumulated property faster than others. (H-E-S-Law)

1958. Kammen, Michael G. "The Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LV (Dec. 1960), 293-333.

Economic distress, centered on tobacco cultivation and trade, as well as political dissatisfaction, precipitated the revolt against Maryland's proprietary government. (H-E)

1959. Ketcham, Ralph L. "James Madison and Religion—A New Hypothesis," *Jour. of the Presbyterian Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII (June 1960), 65-90.

Madison's religious beliefs contributed significantly to the "philosophy of religious liberty in a free society." (H-R)

1960. ———. "James Madison and T. V. Smith: A Study in the Politics of Privacy," *Antioch Rev.*, XX (Fall 1960), 261-281.

Analysis of the mechanics of compromise in American political experience, based upon the sanctity of individual experience and value and the similarity of the roles of Madison and Smith in its development. (H-P)

1961. Klein, Milton M. "Prelude to Revolution in New York: Jury Trial and Judicial Tenure," *William & Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., XVII (Oct. 1960), 439-462.

Colden's efforts to establish life tenure for justices and to expand the use of the writ of error to bring questions of fact, as well as of law, before the council for review, played into the hands of the Livingston triumvirate and gave the people a basis for opposition to the governor at the time of the Stamp Act crisis. (H-Law)

1962. Klingberg, Frank J. "Early Attempts at Indian Education in South Carolina," *S.C. Hist. Mag.*, LXI (Jan. 1960), 1-11.

Thomas Nairne, Indian Agent, demanded in the early 18th century that The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel accept precedence for the Indian over the Negro in providing men and funds. (H-ED)

1963. Lamar, Howard R. "Political Patterns in New Mexico and Utah Territories 1850-1900," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXVIII (Oct. 1960), 364-387.

Effect on territorial politics when an expanding Anglo-Saxon Protestant society suddenly finds itself a minority in Spanish-Mexican or Mormon societies. (H-S-R)

1964. Lane, Roger. "James Jeffrey Roche and the Boston Pilot," *New Eng. Quar.*, XXXIII. (Sept. 1960), 341-363.

The decline of the oldest and largest Catholic journal in America during the editorship (1890-1905) of the poet-journalist. (H-R-MC).

1965. Lee, Lawrence B. "Homesteading in Zion," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXVIII (Jan. 1960), 29-38.

Problems of adapting Mormon land system to requirements of federal homestead legislation. (H-R-E)

1966. Lye, William Frank. "Edward Wheelock Tullidge, the Mormons' Rebel Historian," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXVIII (Jan. 1960), 57-75.

Career (1829-94) of the Mormon playwright, magazine editor and biographer of Brigham Young and Joseph Smith, who rebelled against the temporal authoritarianism of the Church. Bibliography of his writings. (H-R-Lit)

1967. Manhart, George B. "The Indiana Central Medical College, 1849-1852," *Ind. Mag. of Hist.*, XLV (June 1960), 105-122.

The difficulties, particularly financial, encountered by the founders in the brief four-year span of the school are examined in some detail. (H-ED)

1968. Marsden, K. Gerald. "Father Marquette and the A.P.A.: An Incident in American Nativism," *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XLVI (Apr. 1960), 1-21.

A routine choice by the Wisconsin legislature in 1887 to authorize a statue of Marquette for the federal Statuary Hall provoked an outburst of anti-Catholicism by the American Protective Association which postponed official federal acceptance from 1896 until 1904. (H-R)

1969. McCain, William D. "Education in Mississippi in 1860," *Jour. of Miss. Hist.*, XXII (July 1960), 153-166.
 Public education suffered from lack of interest and financial support in a culture wedded to the notion that education was the private concern and duty of parents. (H-ED)
1970. McClosky, Herbert *et al.* "Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers," *Amer. Pol. Sc. Rev.*, LIV (June 1960), 406-427.
 Tests a number of generally accepted hypotheses about the relation of party ideology to party membership. (H-S)
1971. McGloin, John B. "Some Letters of Patrick Manogue, Gold Miner and Bishop of Nevada and California," *Rec. of the Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. of Philadelphia*, LXXI (Mar.-June 1960), 3-13.
 Aspects of western life in the post-Civil War period. Notes a distinct Protestant bias in education. Discusses the Indians. (H-S-ED-R)
1972. McKean, Keith F. "Southern Patriarch: A Portrait," *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXXVI (Summer 1960), 376-389.
 "Big Daddy" as caretaker of the blood line. (H-S-Lit)
1973. McKittrick, Eric L. and Stanley Elkins. "Institutions in Motion," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Summer 1960), 188-197.
 A study of what happens to institutions in motion, especially imported European institutions, and the importance of "portability" to their survival. (H-S)
1974. Mellon, Knox Jr. "Christian Priber and the Jesuit Myth," *S.C. Hist. Mag.*, LXI (Apr. 1960), 75-81.
 In the early 18th century, this German utopian philosopher tried to establish an ideal commonwealth among the Cherokee Indians. Often referred to by historians as a Jesuit, Priber's background provides little evidence of his having been one. (H-R)
1975. Merrill, Milton R. "Reed Smoot, Apostle-Senator," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXVIII (Oct. 1960), 343-349.
 Considered himself "a Mormon Apostle whose mission to the Gentiles was divinely inspired." (H-R)
1976. Mills, C. Wright. "Listen Yankee: The Cuban Case Against the U.S.," *Harper's*, CCXXI (Dec. 1960), 31-37.
 Noted sociologist summarizes Cuban complaints and accusations made in his interviews with Castro and others. (H-S)
1977. Moore, John H. "Economic Conditions in Mississippi on the Eve of the Civil War," *Jour. of Miss. Hist.*, XXII (July 1960), 167-178.
 Prosperity was the decisive factor in convincing the cotton states of the success of secession in 1860-61. (H-E)
1978. Moore, Margaret D. "Religion in Mississippi in 1860," *Jour. of Miss. Hist.*, XXII (Oct. 1960), 223-238.
 Protestant churches had made great headway by 1860, but the growth of the state into a Biblical stronghold came later. (H-R)
1979. Morris, Wright. "Made in USA," *American Scholar*, XXIX (Autumn 1960), 483-494.
 Improvisation as a key to American character. (H-MC-S)

1980. Neal, Nevin E. "The Smith-Robinson Arkansas Campaign of 1928," *Ark. Hist. Quar.*, XIX (Spring 1960), 3-11.
Senator Joe T. Robinson successfully overcame the political sermons of many of the State's Methodist and Baptist ministers to deliver Arkansas to Smith. (H-R-PA)
1981. Neu, Charles E. "Olympia Brown and the Women's Suffrage Movement," *Wisc. Mag. of Hist.*, XLIII (Summer 1960), 277-287.
Life of a prominent suffragette, including speeches, writings and religious views. (H-L-R-PA)
1982. Nixon, Charles R. "The Coming Electorate: 1965-1970," *Western Pol. Quar.*, XIII (Sept. 1960), 620-635.
An examination of foreseeable coming changes in the pattern of political power on the basis of changes—geographic and social—in its population base. (H-S)
1983. O'Brien, Terence H. "The London Livery Companies and the Virginia Company," *Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXVIII (Apr. 1960), 137-155.
The MS books of the London Livery Companies reveal information on the founding of Virginia not used in the classic study by Alexander Brown (1890) or other historians. (H-E)
1984. Osofsky, Gilbert. "The Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society of the United States (1881-1883)," *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, XLIX (Mar. 1960), 173-187.
The experience of a relief organization in helping the Jewish refugees from the first Russian pogroms. (H-R)
1985. Parsons, Joseph A. Jr. "Civilizing the Indians of the Old Northwest, 1800-1810," *Ind. Mag. of Hist.*, XLV (Sept. 1960), 195-216.
Examines the various interpretations and the conduct of the program, which finally resulted in its failure despite the efforts of well-meaning supporters. (H-S)
1986. Pease, William H. and Jane H. "A New View of Nashoba," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XIX (June 1960), 99-109.
Argues that Frances Wright's Utopian community (1826-30) is better understood as an Organized Negro Community designed to prepare slaves for colonization outside the United States. (H-S)
1987. Peterson, William J. "Rafting on the Mississippi: Prologue to Prosperity," *Ia. Jour. of Hist.*, LVIII (Oct. 1960), 289-320.
The rafting industry on the Upper Mississippi as a basic factor determining the economic and social development of the area, 1830-65. (H-E)
1988. Polsby, Nelson W. "Towards An Explanation of McCarthyism," *Pol. Studies*, VIII (Oct. 1960), 250-271.
Analyzes the insecure bases upon which McCarthy's power was built and the extent to which he depended upon regular Republican support. Criticizes the "policy scientists" for not having realized this. (H-S)
1989. Pomeroy, Earl. "Rediscovering the West," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Spring 1960), 20-30.
The romantic misrepresentation of the facts of Western history and the forces which brought it about. (H-Lit-S)
1990. Porter, Kenneth W. "William Gilpin: Sinophile and Eccentric,

as Seen by the German Scientist, Journalist, and Traveller Julius Froebel," *Col. Mag.*, XXXVII (Oct. 1960), 245-253.

How Gilpin's views on the regeneration of America through trade contacts with China appeared to Froebel, who met him in 1852. (H-E)

1991. Posner, Russell N. "California's Role in the Nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt," *Cal. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XXXIX (June 1960), 121-139.

How Garner and Hearst swung the decisive California vote to F.D.R. (H-MC)

1992. Proctor, Samuel. "William Jennings Bryan and the University of Florida," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XXXIX (July 1960), 1-16.

Having transferred his residence from Nebraska to Florida in 1921, he maintained a very close relationship with President Murphree of the University. Bryan's prohibitionist and fundamentalist views won wide support on the campus. (H-ED)

1993. Pyburn, Nita Katherine. "The Public School System of Charleston before 1860," *S.C. Hist. Mag.*, LXI (Apr. 1960), 86-98.

It developed within the framework of the state school law of 1811. The earliest school was for the poor; however, when the public demanded universal education, a new law was unnecessary. (H-ED)

1994. Raffaele, J. A. "U.S. Propaganda Abroad: Notes on the USIS in Italy," *Social Research*, XXVII (Autumn 1960), 277-294.

Field investigation in 1958 of attitudes held by Italian molders of public opinion shows increasing anti-American sentiment in Italy and disenchantment with American leadership. (H-PA-S)

1995. Renner, G. K. "The Kansas City Meat Packing Industry Before 1900," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, LV (Oct. 1960), 18-29.

The development of the meat-packing industry "more than any other aspect of the livestock business" made Kansas City a metropolitan center. (H-E-S)

1996. Richardson, Joe M. "The Freedmen's Bureau and Negro Labor in Florida," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XXXIX (July 1960), 167-175.

The Bureau protected both Negroes and whites in Florida. Semi-peonage would have resulted otherwise. (H-E)

1997. Richin, Moses. "The Early Attitude of the American Jewish Committee to Zionism (1906-1922)," *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, XLIX (Mar. 1960), 188-201.

While it approved of the Balfour Declaration, it opposed "political Zionism" and looked upon Palestine as a "Jewish homeland rather than a Jewish state." (H-R)

1998. Robinson, Steward M. "Campus Evangelism Two Centuries Ago," *Proceedings of N. J. Hist. Soc.*, LXXVIII (Apr. 1960), 118-124.

Brief biographies of young leaders, later great, on campuses during the Great Awakening. (H-R-PA)

1999. Rokkan, Stein and Angus Campbell. "Citizen Participation in Political Life—Norway and the U.S.," *International Soc. Sc. Jour.*, 12 #1 (1960), 69-99.

Findings from parallel analyses of data from election surveys. (H-S)

2000. Rowen, Hobart. "America's Most Powerful Private Club," *Harper's*, CCXXI (Sept. 1960), 79-84.

The Business Advisory Council for the Commerce Department consists of the biggest men in American industry and finance; an elite group, it participates in government decisions. (H-E)

2001. Scott, Anne Firor. "Saint Jane and the Ward Boss," *Amer. Heritage*, XII (Dec. 1960), 12-17, 94-99.

The career of Jane Addams from the establishment of Hull House in 1889 to her death in 1935, and in particular her unsuccessful attempts to dislodge Johnny Powers, the boss of Chicago's notorious 19th Ward. (H-S)

2002. Shapiro, Samuel. "The Conservative Dilemma: The Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1853," *New Eng. Quar.*, XXXIII (June 1960), 207-224.

The part played by Richard Henry Dana Jr. in the debates over revision of the constitution. (H-PA)

2003. Smith, Charles D. "The Appalachian National Park Movement, 1885-1901," *N.C. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII (Jan. 1960), 38-65.

Early enthusiasts came from fields of public health, aesthetic appreciation and forestry. Interest grew among local, state and national organizations. (H-SC)

2004. Stauffer, Alvin P. "Douglas in Vermont," *Vt. Hist.*, XXVIII (Oct. 1960), 256-267.

Stephen A. Douglas was received well when he campaigned in his native state in 1860, but he was unable to win. (H-PA)

2005. Stevenson, Adlai E. "Jefferson and Our National Leadership," *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXXVI (Summer 1960), 337-349.

A new Jeffersonian age of enlightenment is needed to restore the American mission of freedom. (H-P-S)

2006. Stone, Albert E. Jr. "Seward Collins and the *American Review*: Experiment in Pro-Fascism, 1933-37," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Spring 1960), 3-19.

Although Collins gathered a carefully chosen group of conservative contributors, his political doctrines alienated them and brought about the collapse of the *Review*. (H-MC)

2007. Stoudt, John Joseph. "The Cultural Contributions of the Pennsylvania Germans," *Hist. Rev. Berks County*, XXV (Spring 1960), 40-45, 62-65.

Pleads for studies of the fusion of Pennsylvania German culture into the total American culture and discusses literary, religious, political, musical, artistic and linguistic contributions. Illustrated. (H-Lit-L-A-MU-S)

2008. Tate, Merze. "The Early Political Influence of the Sandwich Islands Missionaries," *Jour. of Religious Thought*, XVII (Summer-Autumn 1960), 117-132.

Although not initially interested in politics, and later strongly criticized by other foreign residents, the American Congregational missionaries responded generously to requests from the newly converted rulers for political advice, helping in the end greatly to encourage pro-American relations. (H-R)

2009. Thompson, Kenneth W. "Moral Purpose in Foreign Policy: Realities and Illusions," *Social Research*, XXVII (Autumn 1960), 261-276.

The growing complexity of American foreign policy has rendered moral judgments increasingly difficult. But there are areas in this field where morality and religion may still play a part. (H-R)

2010. Throne, Mildred, compiler. "Iowa Newspapers Report the 1860 Nomination of Lincoln," *Ia. Jour. of Hist.*, LVIII (July 1960), 228-280.

"Newspapers, in the months before the convention, devoted surprisingly little space to the presidential nomination, compared with modern papers." (H-MC-PA)

2011. Tucker, Louis Leonard. "The Church of England and Religious Liberty at Pre-Revolutionary Yale," *William & Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., XVII (July 1960), 314-328.

The growing number of Anglicans and Samuel Johnson's threat to challenge Yale's charter before the Crown compelled President Clap to make "Yale's religious policies in the mid-eighteenth century . . . far more liberal than is commonly held." (H-R-ED)

2012. Vecoli, Rudolph J. "Sterilization: A Progressive Measure?" *Wisc. Mag. of Hist.*, XLIII (Spring 1960), 190-202.

Concludes from the history of the eugenics movement in Wisconsin that "sterilization was a Progressive measure" taken up and agitated for by reform groups, Progressive leaders and publications; and enacted by a Progressive legislature and administration. (H-S)

2013. Veysey, Laurence R. "Myth and Reality in Approaching American Regionalism." *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Spring 1960), 31-43.

Problems of relating myth to reality. (H-Lit-MC)

2014. Watson, Richard A. "Federalism v. Individual Rights: The Legal Squeeze on Self-Incrimination," *Amer. Pol. Sc. Rev.*, LIV (Dec. 1960), 887-898.

Treatment of federalism's service in the cause of freedom and the right against self-incrimination in particular, as well as a consideration of the complexities introduced by the federal division of powers. (H-Law)

2015. Weiser, Frederick S. "Conrad Weiser, Peacemaker of Colonial Pennsylvania," *Hist. Rev. Berks County*, XXV (Summer 1960), 83-97.

His contributions in negotiating with the Indians, in settling religious controversies, as an officer in the French and Indian War, magistrate and founder of new Pennsylvania communities. Part of a memorial issue. (H-R)

2016. Welsh, John R. "William Gilmore Simms, Critic of the South," *Jour. of Southern Hist.*, XXVI (May 1960), 201-214.

He criticized many faults in the Southern system, though never offering as a remedy "the total adoption of Northern ways and attitudes, which he abhorred." (H-Lit)

2017. Yoder, Paton. "Private Hospitality in the South, 1775-1850," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVII (Dec. 1960), 419-433.

Reappraises the long-time and commonly held view about Southern hospitality and concludes that "as often as not it was paid for, and that it was not always extended in good grace and sometimes was withheld altogether." (H-MC)

2018. Zimmerman, John J. "Benjamin Franklin and the Quaker Party, 1755-1756," *William & Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., XVII (July 1960), 291-313.

His military and financial program for Pennsylvania won in the Assembly, modifying Quaker pacifism and preparing opposition to the Penns' proprietorship. (H-R)

LANGUAGE

2019. Galbraith, John Kenneth. "The Age of the Wordfact," *Atlantic*, CCVI (Sept. 1960), 87-90.

Expose the political device of solemn semantic confusion that "to say something exists is a substitute for its existence." (L-H)

2020. Babcock, C. Merton. "Americanisms in the Novels of Sinclair Lewis," *Amer. Speech*, XXXV (May 1960), 110-116.
Examples of Americanisms that Lewis initially recorded in his novels; citations from his works antedating the earliest evidence appearing in the dictionaries. (L-Lit)
2021. Clubb, Merrel D. Jr. "The Second Personal Pronoun in *Moby-Dick*," *Amer. Speech*, XXXV (Dec. 1960), 252-261.
"In effect *you*, as it is and for straight narration and realistic description, becomes symbolic of the common sense view of the world, and *thou* becomes symbolic of the philosophical view." (L-Lit)
2022. Fairclough, G. Thomas. "'New Light' on 'Old Zion': A Study of the Names of White and Negro Baptist Churches in New Orleans," *Names*, VIII (June 1960), 75-86.
A venture into a hitherto almost unexplored field, revealing that the white congregations take their names primarily from this present world whereas Negro congregations combine imagination, inventiveness and other-worldliness. (L-S)
2023. Green, Archie. "'Dutchman': An On-The-Job Etymology," *Amer. Speech*, XXXV (Dec. 1960), 270-274.
Traces the history of a term now used in a number of trades and believes that it originated as a tribute to the skill of German cabinetmakers in the 1830s. (L-H)
2024. Hall, Robert A. Jr. "Thorstein Veblen and Linguistic Theory," *Amer. Speech*, XXXV (May 1960), 124-130.
Current language attitudes and practices are viewed as illustrations of conspicuous waste. (L-E-S)
2025. McDavid, Raven I. Jr. "A New Look at Mencken's Vulgate," *Ball State Teachers Coll. Forum*, I (Spring 1960), 39-42.
An appreciation and defense of Mencken's treatment of the common language. The author is preparing a new edition of Mencken's *American Language*. (L-Lit)
2026. _____ and Virginia G. "Grammatical Differences in the North Central States," *Amer. Speech*, XXXV (Feb. 1960), 5-19.
Regional differences in grammar are less sharp in the North Central States than on the Atlantic seaboard but they can be observed on every level of usage. (L-ED-S)
2027. Ornstein, Jacob. "The Crisis in Language Training," *Amer. Scholar*, XXIX (Winter 1959-60), 75-81.
Explanation of the deplorable fact that many Americans remain unilingual. (L-ED-Lit)
2028. Randall, Dale B. J. "Dialect in the Verse of 'the Hoosier Poet,'" *Amer. Speech*, XXXV (Feb. 1960), 36-50.
"Evidence of various kinds" indicates that James Whitcomb Riley "suggested Hoosier speech and suggested it well." (L-Lit)
2029. Scott, Clayton S. Jr. "Corporate Nicknames in the Stock Market," *Amer. Speech*, XXXV (Oct. 1960), 193-202.
A listing of trading nicknames used by floor brokers in the stock exchanges, ranging from the derogatory to the playfully humorous. (L-E-S)
2030. Sperber, Hans. "Words and Phrases in American Politics: 'grapevine telegraph,'" *Amer. Speech*, XXXV (Feb. 1960), 29-35.
Suggests that originally "grapevine telegraph" and "clothesline telegraph" were the same, used for sending code messages. The term was used during the Civil War and probably goes back to the days of the Underground Railroad. (L-H)

2031. Strainchamps, Ethel. "Caveat Scriptor," *Harper's*, CCXXI (Aug. 1960), 25-27.

The linguist-purist debate on usage has helped develop highbrow, middlebrow and lowbrow prose styles in commercial writing. (L-S)

2032. Vonlat, E. "The Sources of Lindley Murray's 'The English Grammar,'" *Leuvense Bijdragen*, XLVIII (1959), 108-125.

A source study of a book profoundly influential in American education, concluding that it was almost entirely a compilation. (L-ED)

LAW

2033. Arnold, Thurman. "The Law to Make Free Enterprise Free," *Amer. Heritage*, XI (Oct. 1960), 52-55, 92-94.

Despite the weaknesses of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and its enforcement, its reactivation under Theodore Roosevelt prevented the cartelization of American industry and committed America to the ideal of a free competitive order; Suggests that contemporary labor problems have resulted from the failure of the Supreme Court to apply the anti-trust law to predatory labor unions. (Law-E-H)

2034. Blake, Nelson M. "Eunice Against the Shakers," *N.Y. Hist.*, XLI (Oct. 1960), 359-372.

Description and interpretation of a legal *cause célèbre* whereby a woman gains custody of her child when her husband enters a Shaker community. (Law-H-R)

2035. Chapin, Bradley. "Colonial and Revolutionary Origins of the American Law of Freedom," *William & Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., XXVII (Jan. 1960), 3-21.

The English law of treason, followed during the colonial period, was reformulated during the revolutionary period to make acts only, rather than "a state of mind," treasonable. (Law-H)

2036. Eliot, Thomas H. "The Social Security Bill 25 Years After," *Atlantic*, CCVI (Aug. 1960), 72-75.

Counsel for the committee which drafted the original bill recollects its early trials. (Law-H)

2037. Gilb, Corinne Lathrop. "Justice Jesse W. Carter, An American Individualist," *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XXIX (May 1960), 145-157.

His political, economic and social views related to his decisions on the California Supreme Court. (Law-H-E)

2038. Hilliard, Edward H. "When Kentucky Had Two Courts of Appeal," *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, XXXIV (July 1960), 228-236.

Clashing economic interests and a statute requiring creditors to accept notes at face value led to the appointment of rival appellate justices in the 1820s. Law enforcement was hampered and crime increased. (Law-H-E-S)

2039. Kaufman, Irving R. "Sentencing: The Judge's Problem," *Atlantic*, CCV (Jan. 1960), 40-46.

In changing from aims of vengeance through deterrence to reform, sentencing is now inequitable and must be re-examined. (Law-S)

2040. Levy, Leonard. "Did the Zenger Case Really Matter? Freedom of the Press in Colonial New York," *William & Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., XVII (Jan. 1960), 35-50.

Andrew Hamilton's argument was designed for the particular occasion only and did not challenge the accepted common law of libel. The case had no appreciable

effect on freedom of the press, as later cases, notably that of McDougall, indicate. (Law-H)

2041. Mandel, Oscar. "Ignorance and Privacy," *Amer. Scholar*, XXIX (Autumn 1960), 509-519.

An American teacher of comparative literature admires the court system for "putting out a fire in the book-burning game" in connection with *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. (Law-Lit)

2042. O'Brien, William. "Did the Jennison Case Outlaw Slavery in Massachusetts?" *William & Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., XXVII (Apr. 1960), 219-241.

From correspondence between Jared Ingersoll and the court clerk, the author concludes that Chief Justice Cushing charged the jury that slavery was unconstitutional in Massachusetts, the lack of newspaper references to that effect notwithstanding. (Law-H)

2043. Peterson, Charles E. Jr. "After a Decade: Fair Educational Practices Legislation," *College & University*, XXXVI (Fall 1960), 20-34.

Survey and analysis of recent state legislation regulating college and university admissions policies. (Law-ED-H)

2044. Ploscowe, Morris. "Sex Offenses: The American Legal Context," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, XXV (Spring 1960), 207-225.

"One of the most remarkable features of American sex offense laws is their wide disparity in types of sexual behavior prohibited and their extraordinary variation in penalties imposed for similar offenses." (Law-R-S)

2045. Smith, Ralph Lee. "The South's Pupil Placement Laws," *Commentary*, XXX (Oct. 1960), 236-329.

The development of these laws since 1955 as a device for integrating the smallest possible number of Negro students whenever federal action forces the issue. (Law-ED-S-H)

2046. Snyder, Eloise C. "Political Power and the Ability to Win Supreme Court Decisions," *Social Forces*, XXXIX (Oct. 1960), 36-40.

Litigants classified as possessing "superior" political power won almost twice as many opinions as litigants classified as possessing "inferior" political power. Their tendency to do so, however, has declined since 1946. (Law-S-H)

2047. Swinford, Mac. "Mr. Justice Samuel Freeman Miller," *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, XXXIV (Jan. 1960), 35-44.

Eulogistic article and brief biographical sketch, stressing Miller's opinion in the *Slaughterhouse Cases*. (Law-H)

2048. "The Privilege against Self Incrimination under American Law," *Jour. of Criminal Law, Criminology & Police Science*, LI (July-Aug. 1960), 131-161.

Several articles in a symposium, comparing U.S. with foreign countries in this respect. (Law-H-PA)

LITERATURE & DRAMA

2049. Adams, Raymond. "Our Decline from Realism," *Alma Mater*, pub. Beloit Coll., X (Apr. 1960), 6-10.

The decline in a realistic approach to life and literature brought about increasingly since the 1920s by conformist forces. (Lit-A-MC-S)

2050. Albrecht, Robert C. "Thoreau and His Audience: 'A Plea for Captain John Brown,'" *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (Jan. 1961), 393-402.
How Thoreau met the problem of defending "a notorious man before an unfriendly audience." (Lit-H-MC)
2051. Arendt, Hannah. "Society and Culture," *Daedalus*, LXXXIX (Spring 1960), 278-287.
". . . American fiction and poetry have . . . suddenly and richly come into their own, ever since Whitman and Melville . . ." (Lit-MC-S)
2052. Ashida, Margaret E. "Frogs and Frozen Men," *Prairie Schooner*, XXXIV (Fall 1960), 199-206.
Although Beat writers are energetic and persistent advertisers of Zen, they adulterate its true spirit in their frenzied pursuit of it. (Lit-P-R-S)
2053. Berner, Robert. "The Required Past: 'World Enough and Time,'" *Modern Fiction Studies*, VI (Spring 1960), 55-64.
Influence of the past (for which "father" is a metaphor) is dramatized in the relationship between certain characters—with historical, philosophical and theological overtones. (Lit-H-P-R)
2054. Blair, John G. and Augustus Trowbridge. "Thoreau on Katahdin," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Winter 1960), 508-517.
Thoreau's "sense of the incompatibility of man and nature on Katahdin stands in direct opposition to the religious affirmations of his original transcendentalism. . . ." (Lit-R)
2055. Bohner, Charles H. "'As Much History As . . . [sic] Invention': John P. Kennedy's *Rob of the Bowl*," *William & Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., XVII (July 1960), 329-340.
The novel, though partly imaginary, is in large part based on historical records. (Lit-H)
2056. ———. "Swallow Barn: John P. Kennedy's Chronicle of Virginia Society," *Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXVIII (July 1960), 317-330.
The background and sources of a novel (pub. 1832) which presented an accurate portrayal of Virginia life in the early 19th century. (Lit-H)
2057. Bowen, Catherine Drinker. "Bernard DeVoto: Historian, Critic, and Fighter," *Atlantic*, CCVI (Dec. 1960), 69-75.
Appraises DeVoto's work as historian, attributing his successful depiction of character and his style to his having first written fiction. (Lit-H)
2058. Brogan, D. W. "No Hix in the Stix?" *Saturday Rev.* (Aug. 6, 1960), 11-13, 35.
Financial rather than cultural domination "makes New York the center of the American literary scene." The "provinces" have sophistication and culture, and the university presses are the patrons of most serious writers. (Lit-ED-S)
2059. Brooks, Cleanth. "Regionalism in American Literature," *Jour. of Southern Hist.*, XXVI (Feb. 1960), 35-43.
The Southern literary renaissance is part of the "powerful emergence of the province into the literature of our time." (Lit-H)
2060. Brown, Maurice F. "Santayana's American Roots," *New Eng. Quar.*, XXXIII (June 1960), 147-163.
A survey of his early life shows that "American problems gave it its structure, and an American aesthetic movement showed Santayana the way out." (Lit-P)

2061. Brüning, Eberhard. "Der Spanische Bürgerkrieg (1936-1939) im Amerikanischen Drama," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig*, Jahrgang, IX, Heft 1 (1959-1960), 83-92.

Comments on treatment of the Spanish Civil War in several plays by American dramatists, on attitude of American writers toward the war and on American political policy. (Lit-H)

2062. Brustein, Robert. "Repertory Fever," *Harper's*, CCXXI (Dec. 1960), 44-51.

The trend to repertory theater may promise a new vitality in dramatic art. (Lit-MC)

2063. Buitenhuis, Peter. "The Value of Mencken," *Western Humanities Rev.*, XIV (Winter 1960), 19-28.

His contributions as a critic in many areas. (Lit-H-R-S)

2064. Butler, Frank A. "On the Beat Nature of Beat," *Amer. Scholar*, XXX (Winter 1960-61), 79-92.

Attack on the beatniks, their work and the seriousness with which it is treated. (Lit-MC)

2065. Carter, Everett. "The 'Little Myth' of Robert Penn Warren," *Modern Fiction Studies*, VI (Spring 1960), 3-12.

His fiction is concerned with an analysis of American history and presentation of American pragmatism with a pattern of conflict and synthesis. (Lit-H-P-S)

2066. Cecchi, Emilio. "Two Notes on Melville," *Sewanee Rev.*, LXVIII (Summer 1960), 398-406.

Reprint of comments on mythological aspects of *Moby-Dick* and historical and artistic aspects of *Israel Potter* which had originally appeared in Italy in 1931 and 1945 respectively. (Lit-A-H)

2067. Chinol, Elio. "Poe's Essays on Poetry," *Sewanee Rev.*, LXVIII (Summer 1960), 390-397.

Places Poe's aesthetics in the mainstream of European philosophy. First tr. in English. (Lit-P)

2068. Clowder, Felix. "The Bestiary of T.S. Eliot," *Prairie Schooner*, XXXIV (Spring 1960), 30-37.

Under this nom de plume, a midwestern professor of English comments on attitudes toward Anglicanism and Evangelical Protestantism which he sees implied in *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*. (Lit-R)

2069. Cole, Douglas. "Faulkner's *Sanctuary*: Retreat from Responsibility," *Western Humanities Rev.*, XIV (Summer 1960), 291-298.

"... the moral issues and values implicit in *Sanctuary* extend far beyond the scope of any sociological criticism." (Lit-R-S)

2070. Cox, James M. "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court: the Machinery of Self-Preservation," *Yale Rev.*, I (Autumn 1960), 89-102. Along with a comparison of social systems the work is a great comic artist's nightmare vision of himself. (Lit-PSY-S)

2071. Cummings, Sherwood. "Mark Twain and the Sirens of Progress," *Jour. of Central Miss. Valley ASA*, I (Fall 1960), 17-24.

Disillusioned with technological progress, he found it undermining integrity and leading to the decay of civilization. (Lit-SC)

2072. Davis, Joe. "Robert Penn Warren and the Journey to the West," *Modern Fiction Studies*, VI (Spring 1960), 73-82.
 Analysis of his use of the journey to the West in five works and comment on the historical accuracy of his accounts. (Lit-H)
2073. Driver, Tom F. "Strength and Weakness in Arthur Miller," *Tulane Drama Rev.*, IV (Summer 1960), 45-52.
 Finds an unresolvable conflict which limits his work and that of "the majority of his contemporaries" ("liberal optimists" or "relativistic humanists"): the insistence on man's creating his own values and "moral sanctions"—"without reference to ultimate truth." (Lit-PSY-S)
2074. Durocher, Aurele A. "Mark Twain and the Roman Catholic Church," *Jour. of Central Miss. Valley ASA*, I (Fall 1960), 32-43.
 Sees Clemens maintaining "a balanced judgment toward the Church" throughout his career. (Lit-R)
2075. Eby, Cecil D. Jr. "Whittier's 'Brown of Ossawatomie,'" *New Eng. Quar.*, XXXIII (Dec. 1960), 452-461.
 Comparison of the historic account of the last days of John Brown with the poem reveals significant differences that gave rise to fables. (Lit-H)
2076. Elliott, George P. "Country Full of Blondes," *Nation*, CXC (Apr. 23, 1960), 354-360.
 Survey of Raymond Chandler's work. He is the "authentic jinn" of Southern California. (Lit-MC-H)
2077. Fenton, Charles A. "A Literary Fracture of World War I," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Summer 1960), 119-132.
 World War I was the occasion of an outburst of anti-German and pro-war propaganda by aging members of the National Institute of Arts and Letters and marks the end of their era. (Lit-H)
2078. ———. "A Note on American Expatriation," *Western Humanities Rev.*, XIV (Summer 1960), 323-328.
 The cultural environment in America which caused artists and writers to become expatriates; the reaction to and results of expatriation. (Lit-A-S)
2079. ———. "William Styron and the Age of the Slob," *So. Atlantic Quar.*, LIX (Autumn 1960), 469-476.
 Praise for *Set This House on Fire*, because of Styron's handling of characters, historical and political events and spiritual values. (Lit-H-R)
2080. Flanagan, John T. "The Minnesota Backgrounds of Sinclair Lewis' Fiction," *Minn. Hist.*, XXXVII (Mar. 1960), 1-13.
 Using specific people, places, trends of settlement, industry and historical events, Lewis appears to have been most faithful to his background when he was least deliberately photographic or representational. (Lit-H)
2081. French, David P. "James Fenimore Cooper and Fort William Henry," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (Mar. 1960), 28-38.
 The historical basis of the events and characters in Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*. (Lit-H)
2082. Frohock, W. M. "Lionel Trilling and the American Reality," *Southwest Rev.*, XLV (Summer 1960), 224-232.
 Trilling's criticism overemphasizes the class-structured society as a basis of literature and fails to recognize the importance of the frictions of the various cultures which comprise the American culture. (Lit-S)

2083. Garlington, Jack. "The Decadent South," *Col. Quar.*, IX (Summer 1960), 59-62.
The literature of Southern decadence has been overworked; in reality small Southern towns are much like their Northern counterparts. (Lit-S-H)
2084. Gold, Joseph. "Morality of *Lolita*," *British Assoc. for Amer. Studies*, New Series, no. 1 (Sept. 1960), 50-54.
Analysis of the novel, with commentary on factors in American viewpoint which influenced American reception of it. (Lit-R-S)
2085. Gollin, Richard M. "Wallace Stevens: the Poet in Society," *Col. Quar.*, IX (Summer 1960), 47-58.
In his early poetry he was able to isolate himself from social pressure, but in the end, Stevens conceived of the poet's role as that of moral theorist whose function is "to overcome the fragmentation of our experience . . . to conceive of the whole . . . and to tell us about it." (Lit-MC-S)
2086. Goodwin, George Jr. "The Last Hurrahs: George Apley and Frank Skeffington," *Mass. Rev.*, I (May 1960), 461-471.
Using the fictional characters as a point of departure, traces the development of, and changes in, Massachusetts politics. (Lit-H-S)
2087. Green, Fletcher M. "Lincoln: 'the taste [of the Presidency] is in my mouth a little,'" *So. Atlantic Quar.*, LIX (Autumn 1960), 510-520.
Account of the campaign biographies, including one by William Dean Howells, and their effect in making Lincoln known to the country. (Lit-H)
2088. Guttman, Allen. "Mechanized Doom: Ernest Hemingway and the Spanish Civil War," *Mass. Rev.*, I (May 1960), 541-561.
Surveys the manner in which the Spanish Civil War was depicted in art and literature; concentration on Hemingway's portrayal of the impotence of primitives against the omnipotence of technological warfare. (Lit-A-H-S-SC)
2089. Haas, Rudolf. "Das Menschenbild in modernen Amerikanischen Drama," *Universitas*, Jahrgang XV (Mar. 1960), 261-274.
American drama, because of its method of clinical realism, presents a more faithful portrait of American customs than does the novel. (Lit-S)
2090. Hess, M. Whitcomb. "The Enigma of Henry Adams," *Contemporary Rev.*, No. 1133 (June 1960), 325-328.
The religious overtones in Adams' later writings. (Lit-R)
2091. Hoffman, Daniel G. "Jim's Magic: Black or White?" *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (Mar. 1960), 47-54.
Jim's superstitions have European, not African background; in the early chapters of *Huckleberry Finn* they "dramatize his enslavement. But after Jackson's Island they delineate him as a true priest of Nature. . . ." (Lit-F)
2092. Hoffman, Frederick J. "The Temper of the Twenties," *Minn. Rev.*, I (Fall 1960), 36-45.
Characterizes the creative life of the 1920s and sees as one of the principal ideas the move toward secularization: a re-examination of the metaphors and symbols of religion, a redefinition of a state of grace and the decline of past religious conventions. (Lit-R)
2093. Hofstadter, Beatrice K. "Popular Culture and the Romantic Heroine," *Amer. Scholar*, XXX (Winter 1960-61), 98-116.
Examination of heroines of five best-selling American love stories published from 1850-1920 indicates that "on the level of the popular novel, at least, we seem no

nearer than we were 100 years ago to finding a working answer for women's opposing needs—fulfillment as women and as autonomous individuals." (Lit-MC-S)

2094. Hopkins, Vivian C. "Robert Frost: Out Far and In Deep," *Western Humanities Rev.*, XIV (Summer 1960), 247-263.

Evaluates Frost's poetry in terms of various poetic techniques, use of symbols (reminiscent of Swedenborg's "correspondences"), attitude toward war and religion, and presentation of the culture of New England. (Lit-H-L-P-R-S)

2095. Inge, M. Thomas. "Sut Lovingood: An Examination of the Nature of a 'Nat'ral Born Durn'd Fool,'" *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XIX (Sept. 1960), 231-251.

Sympathetic analysis of the character and language of the hero of Harris' *Sut Lovingood Yarns*. (Lit-L)

2096. Irwin, William. "Dos Passos and Fitzgerald as Reviewers of the Social Scene," *Die Neueren Sprachen*, IX (Sept. 1960), 417-428.

Dos Passos' historical panorama of his time, and his social conscience, set against the study in depth rather than breadth of the American scene by Fitzgerald. (Lit-H-S)

2097. Isaacs, Harold R. "Five Writers and Their Ancestors," *Phylon*, XXI (Fall 1960, Winter 1960), 243-265, 317-336.

The attitude of the American Negro writer toward his African ancestry from the "Renaissance" of the 1920s to now through Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin and Lorraine Hansberry. (Lit-H-S)

2098. Jacobs, Robert D. "Poe's Earthly Paradise," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Fall 1960), 404-413.

Art, to Poe, was nature "adjusted to the constitution of the human mind." (Lit-P-A)

2099. Kaufmann, Walter. "Freud and the Tragic Virtues," *Amer. Scholar*, XXIX (Autumn 1960), 469-481.

The author comments in connection with Freudian influence, "It is partly the American infatuation with success that stands in the way of our having tragedies." (Lit-PSY-S)

2100. Kerr, Elizabeth M. "Polarity of Themes in *All the King's Men*," *Modern Fiction Studies*, VI (Spring 1960), 25-46.

The novel in terms of the philosophic, religious and sociological implications, the emphasis being on the acceptance of evil as an inevitable part of life. (Lit-H-P-R-S)

2101. Klein, Marcus. "A Fix in the Igloo," *Nation*, CXC (Apr. 23, 1960), 361-364.

Short history of "junkie" literature, from Algren's *Golden Arm* to Burroughs' *Naked Lunch*. (Lit-S-PSY)

2102. Koretz, Gene H. "Augustine's *Confessions* and *The Education of Henry Adams*," *Comparative Lit.*, XII (Summer 1960), 193-205.

Adams' familiarity with St. Augustine is demonstrated by frequent mention in his letters, admiration for craftsmanship in writing, principle governing the selection of narrative material and symbolic representation of a particular incident or situation. (Lit-H-R)

2103. Koster, Donald N. "Mark Twain, Mysterious Stranger," *Adelphi Quar.*, III (Summer 1960), 16-26.

Examines the development of the philosophical pessimism that culminated in the writing of "The Mysterious Stranger." (Lit-P)

2104. Krieger, Robert. "Speaking at Twilight, Singing in the Morning," *Prairie Schooner*, XXXIV (Summer 1960), 123-127.
Critique of Delmore Schwartz's poetry, with comments on the poet's concern with "American" speech and reliance on Freud. (Lit-L-PSY)
2105. Krutch, Joseph Wood. "If You Don't Mind My Saying So . . .," *Amer. Scholar*, XXIX (Summer 1960), 388-391.
Comments on the attitude of beatniks, "the stress upon social rather than upon private ethics," cheating and "social morality." (Lit-P-R-S)
2106. Lash, John S. "'Expostulation and Reply': A Critical Summary of Literature By and About Negroes in 1959," *Phylon*, XXI (Summer 1960), 111-123.
Based on an examination of the drama, dance, biography, autobiography, history, fiction and the "little folklore and less poetry" produced, concludes that, although last year's literature "did not lose the overt racism or partisanship" of the past, it did show a "slow dissolving of the encrustations of racial chauvinism." Brief bibliography. (Lit-H-S-MC)
2107. Lehan, Richard. "Camus and Hemingway," *Wisc. Studies in Contemp. Lit.*, I (Spring-Summer 1960), 37-48.
Resemblance in presentation of characters that are social misfits—"the dislocated hero." Hemingway probably helped Camus "to translate philosophical motives into dramatic terms." (Lit-P-S)
2108. Lippman, Monroe. "The American Playwright Looks at Business," *Educational Theatre Jour.*, XII (May 1960), 98-106.
Ways in which American plays from 1819 to the present have dealt with business—"its objectives, operations, ethics, and effects"—and have reflected changing public attitudes toward it. (Lit-E-S-MC)
2109. Lucid, Robert F. "Two Years Before the Mast as Propaganda," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Fall 1960), 392-403.
Dana's book was read as social criticism by his contemporaries, but was not so intended. (Lit-S)
2110. Madden, David. "The Hero and the Witness in Wright Morris' Field of Vision," *Prairie Schooner*, XXXIV (Fall 1960), 263-278.
Morris' characters, plots and locales present the "American way of life." (Lit-S)
2111. Marx, Leo. "Shakespeare's American Fable," *Mass. Rev.*, II (Autumn 1960), 40-71.
Analogies between "The Tempest" and "the design of classic American fables." Shakespeare's play, "written in the hour that American colonization began, therefore may be read as one of the most illuminating of prefaces to our literature." (Lit-F-H)
2112. Melchiori, Giorgio. "The English Novelist and the American Tradition," *Sewanee Rev.*, LXVIII (Summer 1960), 502-515.
Influence of Hawthorne and James on L. P. Hartley's treatment of sin and evil and psychological handling of characters. First published in Italy. (Lit-PSY-R)
2113. Montale, Eugenio. "An Introduction to Billy Budd," *Sewanee Rev.*, LXVIII (Summer 1960), 419-422.
Sees *Billy Budd* as showing "the Christian sacrifice of the Cross" and as presenting Rousseauistic "natural goodness," not pathological neuroses and an Oedipus complex. First pub. in Italy in 1942. (Lit-P-PSY-R)
2114. Oppens, Kurt. "Emily Dickinson: Überlieferung und Prophetie," *Merkur*, XIV (Jan. 1, 1960), 17-40.
Dickinson's American philosophical origins and the use she made of them. (Lit-P)

2115. Paredes, Américo. "Luis Inclán: First of the Cowboy Writers," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Spring 1960), 55-70.
 Analysis of the writings of the Mexican popular novelist of the 1850s-70s. (Lit-MC-F)
2116. Pavese, Cesare. "The Literary Whaler," *Sewanee Rev.*, LXVIII (Summer 1960), 407-418.
 The observations of an Italian critic, originally published in 1932, concerning the cultural and artistic implications of Melville's ideal of the philosopher-sailor. (Lit-P-S)
2117. Persons, Coleman O. "The Background of *The Mysterious Stranger*," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (Mar. 1960), 55-74.
 A careful consideration of the sources: Voltaire, Swift, Lecky, Scott's *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, and many others. (Lit-P-R-F)
2118. Praz, Mario. "Poe and Psychoanalysis," *Sewanee Rev.*, LXVIII (Summer 1960), 375-389.
 Disagrees with the psychoanalytical approach to Poe as presented by Marie Bonaparte in the *Bibliothèque Psychoanalytique*. Originally published in Italy in 1933. (Lit-PSY)
2119. Randel, William. "Walt Whitman and American Myths," *So. Atlantic Quar.*, LIX (Winter 1960), 103-113.
 Whitman's attack upon prevailing American myths and proposal of new ones. (Lit-F)
2120. Rathbun, John W. "Philosophy, *World Enough and Time*, and the Art of the Novel," *Modern Fiction Studies*, VI (Spring 1960), 47-54.
 The ideas, with their philosophical and religious implications, determine the structure and form of the novel. (Lit-P-R)
2121. Reeves, Paschal. "The Humor of Thomas Wolfe," *So. Folklore Quar.*, XXIV (June 1960), 109-121.
 To hold that Wolfe lacked a sense of humor is to view his work in a fragmentary manner and miss many of his most delightful passages. (Lit-F)
2122. Ringe, Donald A. "Cooper's Littlepage Novels: Change and Stability in American Society," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (Nov. 1960), 280-290.
 Demonstrates the unity of theme—"the social function of an aristocracy"—that make the novels a true trilogy. (Lit-H-S)
2123. Rosenberry, Edward H. "Hawthorne's Allegory of Science: 'Rappaccini's Daughter,'" *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (Mar. 1960), 39-46.
 The story "stands high among [Hawthorne's] studies of the scientist as an ethical being and of the ambiguous warfare of guilt and innocence in the human soul." (Lit-P-SC)
2124. Roth, George L. "Verse Satire on 'Faction,' 1790-1815," *William & Mary Quar.*, 3rd ser., XXVII (Oct. 1960), 473-485.
 Jefferson and foreign-born Republicans, notably Gallatin, were the principal targets of the Federalist satirists, but the Hartford Convention gave the Republicans an opportunity to retaliate by writing satirical verses against the New England Federalists. (Lit-H)
2125. Rothwell, Kenneth S. "From Society to Babbittry," *Jour. of Cent. Miss. Valley Amer. Studies Assoc.*, I (Spring 1960), 32-38.
 How the *Babbitt* of Sinclair Lewis and *The Age of Innocence* of Edith Wharton show that there were possibly two Americas, that of the East tinged with European awareness and that of the Midwest blessed with native innocence. (Lit-F-MC)

2126. Rovit, Earl H. "The American Concept of Home," *Amer. Scholar*, XXIX (Autumn 1960), 521-529.

Comments on various American writers and their attitudes toward "home." (Lit-S)

2127. Sanders, David. "Ernest Hemingway's Spanish Civil War Experience," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Summer 1960), 133-143.

Hemingway was anti-fascist and pro-Spanish rather than Communist. (Lit-H)

2128. Shapiro, Samuel. "With Dana before the Mast," *Amer. Heritage*, XI (Oct. 1960), 27-29, 94-97.

Denies the common suppositions that it was written to help ameliorate the lot of the seaman and was a direct influence on Melville. (Lit-H)

2129. Simpson, Lewis P. "Federalism and the Crisis of Literary Order," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (Nov. 1960), 253-266.

Traces the parallel of political and literary Federalism in the "Republic of Letters" of the first half of the 19th century. (Lit-H)

2130. Simson, George. "Legal Sources for Franklin's 'Edict,'" *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (May 1960), 152-157.

"Each article [of the 'Edict'] follows closely a part of the Parliamentary Act it satirizes." (Lit-Law)

2131. Slabey, Robert M. "Joe Christmas, Faulkner's Marginal Man," *Phylon*, XXI (Fall 1960), 266-277.

Joe ". . . is totally without status in the town and even his status as a human being is precarious; his emasculation is the final irrevocable act which removes him from the community of men." Faulkner's final view of man and the universe is "dynamic, existential, humanistic." (Lit-S-PSY)

2132. ———. "Myth and Ritual in *Light in August*," *Texas Studies in Lit. and Lang.*, II (Autumn 1960), 328-349.

Explores religious motifs in Faulkner's novel. (Lit-R)

2133. Spencer, Benjamin T. "Nationality During the Interregnum (1892-1912)," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (Jan. 1961), 434-445.

With the identity of American literature finally established, writers paradoxically felt themselves in a twenty-year period of literary twilight. (Lit-H)

2134. Squier, Charles L. "Dulness in America: A Study in Epic Badness: *The Fredoniad*," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (Jan. 1961), 446-454.

Dr. Richard Emmon's longest and dullest American epic is "essentially no more than a doggerel history of the War of 1812 set in a flimsy mythological frame." (Lit-H)

2135. Sutton, Walter. "Melville and the Great God Budd," *Prairie Schooner*, XXXIV (Summer 1960), 128-133.

Sees influence of Schopenhauer and Buddhism in *Billy Budd*. (Lit-P-R)

2136. Swallow, Alan. "American Publishing and the American Writer," *Chicago Rev.*, XIV (Autumn-Winter 1960), 82-98.

Current paperback revolution is fulfilling one of its functions, to make the best works of the past "continuously available to the citizens of a democracy in editions relatively easily secured by anyone interested." Its second primary function, to provide an adequate outlet for the talented new writer, it does not fulfill. (Lit-MC-E)

2137. Tate, Allen. "Random Thoughts on the 1920's," *Minn. Rev.*, I (Fall 1960), 46-56.

Observations on the period, on the Southern Literary Renaissance and on the culture which produced the writers. (Lit-S)

2138. "The Fugitive Agrarian Movement: A Symposium," *Miss. Quar.*, XIII (Spring 1960), 53-104.
Assessment of the Ransom Vanderbilt group. Randall Stewart and others. (Lit-P-S-H-MC)
2139. Thompson, Dorothy. "The Boy and Man from Sauk Center," *Atlantic*, CCVI (Nov. 1960), 39-48.
Sinclair Lewis, the man and the writer, in terms of his heredity and early environment. (Lit-S)
2140. Trilling, Lionel. "All Aboard the Seesaw," *Tulane Drama Rev.*, IV (Summer 1960), 16-22.
Discussion of William Gibson's book *The Seesaw Log* and the culturally significant experience it describes, the "arduous process" of Broadway production whereby "success" is gained at the expense of "truth" and "integrity." (Lit-MC)
2141. Van Nostrand, Albert. "Brewing Instant Fiction," *Saturday Rev.*, (August 13, 1960), 11-13, 38.
Exploitation of "old economic conditions in a new way" has been provided by paperbacks and the advertising of them. (Lit-E-MC)
2142. Vittorini, Elio. "An Outline of American Literature," *Sewanee Rev.*, LXVIII (Summer 1960), 423-437.
Origins of and ingredients in chief American writers. (Lit-H-P-R-S)
2143. Waldmeir, Joseph. "The Documentation of World War II," *Nation*, CXCI (Nov. 19, 1960), 393-398.
Survey of World War II literature from 1944 to the present. (Lit-H)
2144. Walker, Don D. "Wister, Roosevelt and James: A Note on the Western," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Fall 1960), 358-366.
The possible effect of Roosevelt's criticism and James's praise in stifling Wister's talent. (Lit-MC)
2145. Ward, John W. "Individualism Today," *Yale Rev.*, XLIX (Spring 1960), 380-392.
For Emerson and Thoreau appreciation of the individual meant denigrating society; for us the need is to have a society in which the individual can be nourished. (Lit-P-PSY-S)
2146. Webb, Howard W. Jr. "The Development of a Style: the Lardner Idiom," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Winter 1960), 482-492.
Style is the means by which Lardner created the generic figure of his hero. (Lit-L-MC)
2147. Weissman, Philip. "Mourning Becomes Electra and The Prodigal," *Modern Drama*, III (Dec. 1960), 257-259.
O'Neill's play reflected the last generation's fresh and undigested discoveries of Freud; Jack Richardson's recent Orestes play points toward resolution of the parent-child conflict. (Lit-PSY)
2148. West, Paul. "The Fear of Possibility: American Myth and French Mimesis," *Chicago Rev.*, XIV, 1-33.
"Myth criticism and atheistic existentialism are the typical products of a period [1930-61] in which cultivated minds instinctively resort to supreme fictions and spectatorial anguish." (Lit-P)
2149. White, William. "Walt Whitman to U.S. Grant: An Unknown Exchange," *Prairie Schooner*, XXXIV (Summer 1960), 120-122.
Prints the exchange from the Feinberg Collection with Whitman's eulogy on Grant, now in *Specimen Days*. (Lit-H)

2150. Wilkinson, Ronald Sterne. "Poe's 'Balloon-Hoax' Once More," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (Nov. 1960), 313-317.

For his hoax, Poe borrowed the picture as well as descriptive details from an anonymous pamphlet about Monck Mason's model airship of 1843. (Lit-SC)

2151. Wilson, James Southall. "Best-Sellers in Jefferson's Day," *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXXVI (Spring 1960), 222-237.

What Virginians were reading between 1750-65.

2152. Yates, Norris W. "The 'Counter-Conversion' of Huckleberry Finn," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXII (Mar. 1960), 1-10.

The religious phenomenon of conversion, and the "major elements of frontier fundamentalism—its endorsement of slavery, its views on prayer, and its version of hell—have been applied in an ironically reverse fashion" in Huckleberry Finn's counter-version. (Lit-R)

2153. Young, Philip. "Fallen from Time: The Mythic Rip Van Winkle," *Kenyon Rev.*, XXII (Autumn 1960), 547-573.

Traces the legend behind Irving's story in various countries back 2500 years; indicates the nearest source in "Peter Klaus"; identifies possible Teutonic rituals inherent in certain details; provides a Freudian analysis. (Lit-F-PSY-S)

2154. Zoellner, Robert H. "Conceptual Ambivalence in Cooper's Leather-stockings," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXI (Jan. 1960), 397-420.

The interpretation of Natty Bumppo as the mythic hero of American frontier lore is not wholly in keeping with Cooper's own concern with a social status and pattern that Natty could not adhere to. (Lit-F)

MASS CULTURE

2155. Baldwin, James. "Mass Culture and the Creative Artist," *Daedalus*, LXXXIX (Spring 1960), 373-376.

Mass culture reflects the chaos of our society; even a serious play like *J.B.* reflects "American bewilderment in the face of the world we live in." (MC-S-Lit)

2156. Bluestone, George. "The Changing Cowboy: From Dime Novel to Dollar Film," *Western Humanities Rev.*, XIV (Summer 1960), 331-337.

The "adult" Western movie has converted the earlier innocent myth-image of the cowboy hero into a more complex, experienced type. (MC-Lit-F)

2157. Browne, Ray B. "Shakespeare in American Vaudeville and Negro Minstrelsy," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Fall 1960), 374-391.

The pervasiveness of Shakespearian material from about 1850 to 1900. (MC-Lit)

2158. Carter, Everett. "Cultural History Written with Lightning: The Significance of *The Birth of a Nation*," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Fall 1960), 347-357.

The film as a record of a cultural illusion and as the starting point for later "filmic" progress. (MC-H-Lit)

2159. De la Torre, Lillian. "The Theatre Comes to Denver," *Col. Mag.*, XXXVII (Oct. 1960), 285-296.

Col. Charles R. Thorne's pioneering troupe brings the theater to Denver in 1859. (MC-H-Lit)

2160. Easterbrook, W. T. "Problems in the Relationship of Communication and Economic History," *Jour. of Econ. Hist.*, XX (Dec. 1960), 559-565.

From a symposium at the Univ. of Penn. on the possible convergence between the

disciplines of economic history and communications, especially as suggested by the pioneer work of Canadian political economist Harold Innis. (MC-E)

2161. Elkin, Frederick. "Censorship and Pressure Groups," *Phylon*, XXI (Spring 1960), 71-80.

"The question is never whether or not there will be some censorship but rather where the lines are to be drawn." (MC-Lit-L)

2162. Geisner, Robert. "The Moving Image," *Amer. Heritage*, XI (Apr. 1960), 30-35, 100-104.

The roles played by Edison, Edwin S. Porter and D. W. Griffith as they respectively invented, developed and raised to the level of an art form, the early motion picture. (MC-H-A)

2163. Handlin, Oscar. "Mass and Popular Culture," *Daedalus*, LXXXIX (Spring 1960), 325-332.

Critics should not condemn mass media indiscriminately, since "Euripides and Shakespeare can perfectly well follow the Western . . . , and the slick magazine can easily sandwich in cathedrals and madonnas among the pictures of athletes and movie queens." (MC-MU-S-Lit-A-H)

2164. Hentoff, Nat and Walter Karp. "The World of Paddy Chayefsky," *Midstream*, VI (Summer 1960), 25-39.

Hentoff analyzes "The Tenth Man" as the apotheosis of "the nice Jew"; Karp looks at the Chayefsky *corpus* with its perennial theme that "love makes our little world go round." Important negative votes on TV's first "serious" playwright. (MC-Lit)

2165. Hughes, Emmet J. "52,000,000 TV Sets—How Many Votes?" *New York Times Mag.* (Sept. 25, 1960), 23.

Weighs the impact of television as a force in political life by considering the benefits and the evils. (MC-PA-H)

2166. Hughes, H. Stuart. "Mass Culture and Social Criticism," *Daedalus*, LXXXIX (Spring 1960), 388-393.

Famous writers of the past have as little appeal as they have because what they had to say is irrelevant today; and because of our own passivity and lack of vision, we cannot understand that issues were vital to them. (MC-S-Lit-ED)

2167. Jacobs, Norman et al. "Mass Culture and Mass Media," *Daedalus*, LXXXIX (Spring 1960), 271-418.

A detailed analysis, the report of a conference, of the effect of mass media on both artist and audience. (MC-A-Lit-PA-S)

2168. Jarrell, Randall. "A Sad Heart at the Supermarket," *Daedalus*, LXXXIX (Spring 1960), 359-372.

Satirical semantic treatment of *Medium*, the gist of which may be summarized in Emerson's lines: "Things are in the saddle/And ride mankind." The author would bring the quotation up to date: ". . . they are in the theatre and studio, and entertain mankind; are in the pulpit and preach to mankind." (MC-Lit-L-S)

2169. Katz, Elihu. "Communication Research and the Image of Society: Convergence of Two Traditions," *Amer. Jour. of Soc.*, LXV (Mar. 1960), 435-440.

The independent research of a rural sociologist shows how influence flows through agricultural communication networks. (MC-S)

2170. Larrabee, Eric. "After Abundance, What?" *Horizon* (July 1960), 66-72.

Part V: "American Mores at Mid-Century." The real problem in American culture is how to use affluence maturely. (MC-A)

2171. Light, James F. "Nathanael West and the Ravaging Locust," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Spring 1960), 44-54.

His analysis of American culture. (MC-Lit)

2172. Lyon, Peter. "The Wild, Wild West," *Amer. Heritage*, XI (Aug. 1960), 33-48.

The disreputable careers of Wild Bill Hickok, Bat Masterson, Wyatt Earp, Billy the Kid, Jessie James, and their female counterparts, Calamity Jane and Belle Starr. Their subsequent glorification into folk heroes through such popular media as the *Police Gazette*, Hollywood movies and television. (MC-H-F)

2173. Macdonald, Dwight. "Masscult and Midcult," *Partisan Rev.*, XXVII (Spring 1960), 203-233; (Fall 1960), 589-631.

Masscult is a product of modern industrial societies, both democratic and totalitarian. Whether cynically or "sincerely" produced, it is creating a frightening Mass Man, mechanical in his responses, incapable of value judgments. Midcult claims to bring higher culture to the masses. More sophisticated than Masscult, it is still sentimental and retrospective, and a threat to genuine creativity. (MC-Lit-S)

2174. Mandel, Oscar. "The Inconsequence of Culture," *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXXVI (Winter 1960), 18-35.

The illusion that culture and men of culture have done much to change mankind. (MC-S-Lit)

2175. Mayer, Martin. "How Good Is TV at its Best?" *Harper's*, CCXXI (Aug. 1960), 82-90; (Sept. 1960), 85-90.

Improved public affairs programs and TV dramas will drop back to the dull level unless network executives recognize that one great hour is more significant than 100 hours of routine. (MC-Lit)

2176. Mekas, Jonas. "Cinema of the New Generation," *Film Culture* (Summer 1960), 1-20.

Links a group of young independent film makers with the "Nouvelle Vague" cinema and "Beat" writers in their search for liberation and ethical truth in man's unconscious. (MC-Lit-PSY-S)

2177. Morton, Charles W. "The Boston *Evening Transcript*: A Light Jab at the Past," *Atlantic*, CCVI (Dec. 1960), 39-43.

The passing of an institution and a unique paper, recollected by a staffer. (MC-S-E)

2178. Nelson, Harold L., ed. "Articles on Mass Communication in Magazines of the U.S.—A Selected, Annotated Bibliography," *Journalism Quar.*, XXXVII (Spring, Summer, Autumn 1960), 301-309, 457-465, 614-622. (MC-PA-S)

2179. Porter, William. "The Quality Magazines and the New American Reader," *Gazette*, VI (1960), 305-310.

An analysis of the decline in their number and the rise in specialized publications in the last half century. (MC-S)

2180. Reeves, H. Clyde, and Lawrence A. Cassidy. "Fairs in Kentucky," *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, XXXIV (Oct. 1960), 335-357.

A survey of Kentucky fairs in the 19th and 20th centuries, noting their role as economic and cultural institutions. (MC-E-H)

2181. Rosten, Leo. "The Intellectual and the Mass Media: Some Rigorously Random Remarks," *Daedalus*, LXXXIX (Spring 1960), 333-346.

Convincing rebuttal of several criticisms leveled against mass media. (MC-S-Lit)

2182. Shils, Edward. "Mass Society and Its Culture," *Daedalus*, LXXXIX (Spring 1960), 288-314.

If the intellectuals look after intellectual things, "there will be nothing to fear from the movement of culture in mass society." (MC-S-Lit-H)

2183. Stanton, Frank. "Parallel Paths," *Daedalus*, LXXXIX (Spring 1960), 347-353.

Asks for cooperation between the intellectuals and the mass media; shows that many Book-of-the-Month Club selections and many television programs have been of high quality. (MC-S-Lit)

2184. "The National Purpose," concurrently published by *Life* and *New York Times* during 1960. Gathered in a paperback by Holt, Rinehart, Winston, Sept. 12, 1960.

Many useful insights on the connections between mass culture and the paralysis of national purpose. (MC-H-P)

2185. "The Public, Broadcasting, and Research: Some of the More Relevant Testimony at the FCC Hearings on the Quiz Scandals," *Public Opinion Quar.*, XXIV (Spring 1960), 1-31.

Examines the record. (MC-H-PA-S)

2186. Wisert, John J. "Beginnings of the Kentucky Theatre Circuit," *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, XXXIV (July 1960), 264-285.

The theater in Louisville to about 1820. (MC-H-Lit)

2187. Wright, Charles R. "Functional Analysis and Mass Communications," *Public Opinion Quar.*, XXIV (Winter 1960), 605-620.

What a basic theory of sociology implies for the study of mass communication by one of the clearest expositors of the latter field. (MC-S)

MUSIC

2188. Baumann, Victor H. "Teen-Age Music Preferences," *Jour. of Research in Music Ed.*, VIII (Fall 1960), 75-84.

Statistical and qualitative analysis of an experiment inventorying and correlating the socio-economic status, age, sex, region, listening habits and tastes of 1600 subjects. (MU-MC-ED)

2189. Blyler, Dorothea. "The Song Choices of Children in the Elementary Grades," *Jour. of Research in Music Ed.*, VIII (Spring 1960), 9-15.

Statistical and qualitative analysis of 9007 questionnaires concerning two standard compilations of songs. (MU-ED)

2190. Caldwell, Dorothy J. "Vignettes of Famous Missourians," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, LIV (Jan. 1960), 167-175.

Description of certain Missouri musicians who wrote Negro songs. (MU-F)

2191. Combs, Josiah H. "The Highlander's Music," *Ky. Folklore Record*, VI (Oct.-Dec. 1960), 108-123.

The Southern highlands in the United States possess not only a folk literature of their own but a folk music as well, highly impersonal, indigenous and often beautiful. (MU-F)

2192. Hamm, Charles. "The Chapins and Sacred Music in the South and West," *Jour. of Research in Music Ed.*, VIII (Fall 1960), 91-98.

Based upon recently discovered primary sources, identifies and illumines hitherto

obscure rural hymnodists and teachers of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. (MU-R-ED)

2193. Hansen, Chadwick. "Social Influences on Jazz Style: Chicago, 1920-30," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Winter 1960), 493-507.

"By 1930 jazz was a new music; many of its own traditions had been abandoned and were replaced by elements adapted from the popular music of the white middle class." (MU-S-MC)

2194. Jensen, Oliver. "Don't Boil the Calliope Player," *Amer. Heritage*, XI (Aug. 1960), 49-51.

An attempt is being made to revive this relic of the heyday of river-steamboats. (MU-F)

2195. John, Robert W. "Elam Ives and the Pestalozzian Philosophy of Music Education," *Journal of Research in Music Ed.*, VIII (Spring 1960), 45-50.

Notes on the life and work of one who experimented with these precepts as early as 1830. (MU-ED-P)

2196. Lamb, Hubert. "High Fidelity—To What?" *Harper's*, CCXX (Jan. 1960), 72-75.

In learning to prefer her statue to the Muse herself, we may mislead audiences into criticizing concert hall music in terms of its faithfulness to copies. (MU-MC)

2197. Lowens, Irving. "Andrew Law and the Pirates," *Jour. of the Amer. Musicological Soc.*, XIII (1960, one issue), 206-223.

Details early difficulties with the copyright of hymn-tune compilations, mainly in New England, c. 1781-1816. (MU-Law-R)

2198. Mason, William. "The Music of the Waldensians in Valdese, North Carolina," *N. C. Folklore*, VIII (July 1960), 1-6.

How the little town of Valdese, settled by Waldensians from Italy, preserves its historic and religious traditions by the use of folk music, some of which is reproduced in the article. (MU-F-R)

2199. Thomson, Virgil. "Music in the 1950's." *Harper's*, CCXXI (Nov. 1960), 59-63.

While the decade saw a growing maturity in music, the mass media view increasingly standardized it. (MU-MC)

PHILOSOPHY

2200. Bertocci, Peter A. "Borden Parker Bowne: Philosophical Theologian and Personalist," *Religion in Life*, XXIX (Autumn 1960), 587-597. A tribute written for the fiftieth anniversary of his death. (P-R)

2201. Blau, Joseph L. "John Dewey's Theory of History," *Jour. of Phil.*, LVII (Feb. 4, 1960), 89-100.

Discussion of the application of the experimental method to the nature and interpretation of history. (P-H)

2202. Boller, Paul Jr. "Darwin's American Champion," *Southwest Rev.*, XLV (Spring 1960), 156-164.

Asa Gray (1810-88), in championing the Darwinian cause in America, showed scientific integrity and helped prevent such bitter controversy as had occurred in England; but he was metaphysically inadequate, an old-fashioned teleologist. (P-SC)

2203. Burtt, Edwin A. "The Core of Dewey's Way of Thinking," *Jour. of Phil.*, LVII (June 23, 1960), 401-419.

The central core of Dewey's thought is the idea of responsibility . . . moral responsibility for the inevitable consequences of all acts, including thinking. (P-ED-H-S)

2204. Campbell, Harry Modean. "Emerson and Whitehead," *PMLA*, LXXV (Dec. 1960), 577-582.

Just as Emerson led the transcendentalist revolt against the rationalism of the "Age of Enlightenment" so Whitehead led a religious revolt against our "Age of Analysis." (P-R-Lit-SC)

2205. Carnes, John R. "Why Should I Obey the Law?" *Ethics*, LXXI (Oct. 1960), 14-26.

No answer to this question is to be found within the confines of legal and political theory. An eloquent plea is made for the broadening, in America, of the scope of moral philosophy and legal philosophy to include questions of this type. (P-Law-H)

2206. Frankel, Charles. "John Dewey's Legacy," *Amer. Scholar*, XXIX (Summer 1960), 313-331.

Emerson's idea, "The one thing in the world of value is the active soul," is "the central point of Dewey's theory of experience, and it is the source of his conception of democracy"—meaning "a society in which the lines between classes are fluid. . ." (P-R-S-Lit)

2207. Haworth, Lawrence. "The Experimental Society: Dewey and Jordan," *Ethics*, LXXI (Oct. 1960), 27-40.

Both have essentially the same view except that Jordan's is more systematic than Dewey's. (P-S)

2208. Irving, John A. "Comments on Burtt & Murphy," *Jour. of Phil.*, LVII (June 23, 1960), 442-450.

General agreement with Burtt's and trenchant commentary on Murphy's interpretation of Dewey. (P-ED-H-S)

2209. Kennedy, Gail. "Comments on Burtt & Murphy," *Jour. of Phil.*, LVII (June 23, 1960), 436-442.

Generally in support of Burtt's interpretation of Dewey and against Murphy's—with certain illuminating suggestions such as the substitution of "experience" for "responsibility" as the central idea in Dewey. (P-ED-H-S)

2210. Murphy, Arthur E. "John Dewey and American Liberalism," *Jour. of Phil.*, LVII (June 23, 1960), 420-436.

Dewey as the ideological spokesman of progressive liberalism in America; the present bankruptcy of such liberalism is a direct consequence of the inadequacy of Deweyian thought. (P-ED-H-S)

2211. Schilp, Paul Arthur. "The Impact of John Dewey's Philosophy Upon American Education," *Chicago Rev.*, XIV (Spring 1960), 97-108. "John Dewey, so far from being dead, is only just coming to be alive." (P-ED)

PSYCHIATRY & PSYCHOLOGY

2212. Burnham, John Chenoweth. "Psychiatry, Psychology and the Progressive Movement," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Winter 1960), 457-465.

Elements of Progressivism appeared as conspicuous features of reform movements within psychology and psychiatry. (PSY-H)

2213. Lasswell, Harold D. "Approaches to Human Personality: William James and Sigmund Freud," *Psychoanalysis & the Psychoanalytic Rev.*, XLVII (Fall 1960), 52-68.

Comparison of personalities and histories of Freud and James aids in understanding the sources and nature of their innovations. (PSY-P)

2214. Nethercot, Arthur H. "The Psychoanalyzing of Eugene O'Neill," *Modern Drama*, III (Dec. 1960), 242-256. (Part I of a two-part article, concluded in *Mod. Dr.*, III [Feb. 1961], 357-372.)

"The influence of psychoanalysis on O'Neill" the playwright, viewed through a chronological survey of criticism on the subject. (PSY-Lit)

2215. Plank, Robert. "Science Fiction," *Amer. Jour. of Orthopsychiatry*, XXX (Oct. 1960), 799-810.

Sees rise of American science fiction as reflecting new era of technology, notes recent shift from aggression-release to anxiety-expression. (PSY-SC-Lit)

2216. Schwarz, Berthold E. "Ordeal by Serpents, Fire and Strychnine," *Psychiatric Quar.*, XXXIV (July 1960), 405-429.

Cultural and psychodynamic observations of ability of members of Free Pentecostal Holiness Church in Southern hill country to undergo usually injurious ordeals. (PSY-R-S)

PUBLIC ADDRESS

2217. Amory, Cleveland. "Free Speech: Lecture on Lecturing," *New York Times Mag.* (Jan. 31, 1960), 22.

The lecture business in America is a multi-million dollar affair. (PA-MC-H-E)

2218. Archer, Gleason L. "Conventions, Campaigns and Kilocycles in 1924: The First Political Broadcasts," *Jour. of Broadcasting*, IV (Spring 1960), 110-118.

How the pioneer radio stations attempted to cover the 1924 campaign. (PA-MC-H)

2219. Bell, Howard H. "Expressions of Negro Militancy in the North, 1840-1860," *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XLV (Jan. 1960), 11-20.

Discusses the militant attitude taken in speeches by Negroes at their conventions in defense of their rights as they moved away from the leadership of Garrison. (PA-H)

2220. Boase, Paul H. *et al.* "Presidential Campaign 1960: A Symposium, Part I," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVI (Oct. 1960), 230-252; Part II (Dec. 1960), 355-364.

The pre-convention speaking of Humphrey, Johnson, Kennedy, Morse, Stevenson, Symington, Nixon and Rockefeller. (PA-H)

2221. Bormann, Ernest G. "Ghostwriting and the Rhetorical Critic," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVI (Oct. 1960), 284-288.

Problems which ghostwriting poses for the critic. (PA-H)

2222. Braden, Waldo W. "The Senate Debate on the League of Nations, 1918-1920: An Overview," *Southern Speech Jour.*, XXV (Summer 1960), 273-281.

Analysis of persuasive factors involved in the struggle over ratification. (PA-H)

2223. Carter, Boyd. "William Jennings Bryan in Mexico," *Nebr. Hist.*, XLI (Mar. 1960), 53-64.

Diplomacy and speechmaking of Bryan as Secretary of State on a visit to Mexico. (PA-H)

2224. Chaffin, William W. "John Warwick Daniel's Speech Honoring Robert E. Lee, Lexington, Virginia, 1883," *Southern Speech Jour.*, XXV (Summer 1960), 305-313.

Analysis of commemorative speech delivered June 28, 1883, at an unveiling of a statue. (PA-H)

2225. Commager, Henry Steele. "Washington Would Have Lost a TV Debate," *New York Times Mag.* (Oct. 30, 1960), 13.
Televised "debates" confuse issues and glorify qualities that have little to do with the Presidency. (PA-H)
2226. Cummings, Warren D. "Sussex County Campaigners in 1865," *Proceedings of N. J. Hist. Soc.*, LXXVIII (Jan. 1960), 22-32.
Supporters of the main candidates for governor stole the spotlight throughout the state in their colorful and exciting campaign speaking. (PA-H)
2227. Dieterich, H. R. "Revivalist As Reformer—Implications of George D. Herron's Speaking," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVI (Dec. 1960), 391-399.
Considers two sermons of Congregationalist revivalist and Socialist. (PA-H)
2228. Dillard, Irving. "The Centennial Year of Two Great Illinoisans: Jane Addams and William Jennings Bryan," *Jour. of the Ill. State Hist. Soc.*; LIII (Autumn 1960), 229-246.
Sketches of two great natives of Illinois. (PA-H)
2229. Fehrenbacher, Don E. "The Origins and Purpose of Lincoln's 'House-Divided' Speech," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVI (Mar. 1960), 615-643.
Account of the famous speech. (PA-H)
2230. Gray, Giles Wilkeson. "Thomas Jefferson's Interest in Parliamentary Practice," *Speech Monographs*, XXVII (Nov. 1960), 315-322.
Origins and development of Jefferson's ideas on parliamentary procedure. (PA-H)
2231. Halstead, Murat. "Douglas, Deadlock and Disunion," *Amer. Heritage*, XI (June 1960), 56-59, 80-87.
Reprint of eyewitness account of the debates and political machinations of Douglas, Yancey *et al.*, at the 1860 Democratic Convention at Charleston. (PA-H)
2232. Hargis, Donald E. "The Great Debate in California: 1859," *Hist. Soc. of South. Calif. Quar.*, XLII (June 1960), 150-160.
The debates between William McKendree Gavin and David Colbrith Broderick for the capture of the Democratic party in the state elections. (PA-H)
2233. Hillbruner, Anthony. "Inequality, The Great Chain of Being, and Ante-Bellum Southern Oratory," *Southern Speech Jour.*, XXV (Spring 1960), 172-189.
How Southern orators flayed the "equalitarian ideal" and upheld the hierarchical one. (PA-H)
2234. ———. "The Lincoln-Douglas Debates: A Study in Equality," *Lincoln Herald*, LXII (Spring 1960), 3-12.
The doctrine as a harbinger of what was to come. (PA-H)
2235. House, Boyce. "Bryan at Baltimore, The Democratic National Convention of 1912," *Nebr. Hist.*, XLI (Mar. 1960), 29-52.
The four dramatic speeches at the convention which comprised "Bryan's finest hour." (PA-H)
2236. ———. "Byran the Orator," *Jour. of the Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, LIII (Autumn 1960), 266-282.
An assessment of Bryan as orator. (PA-H)

2237. Jackson, Donald. "Lewis and Clark Among the Oto," *Nebr. Hist.*, XLI (Sept. 1960), 237-248.

Considers long speech in which Clark attempted to win the allegiance of the Western tribes. (PA-H)

2238. Kennedy, Padraic Colum. "La Follette's Imperialist Flirtation," *Pacif. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX (May 1960), 131-144.

Robert M. LaFollette's addresses in the 1900 gubernatorial campaign showing him as the champion of American imperialism. (PA-H)

2239. Kerr, Harry P. "Politics and Religion in Colonial Fast and Thanksgiving Sermons, 1763-1783," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVI (Dec. 1960), 372-382.

Leading characteristics of political sermons and their peculiar utility in marshalling support for the Whig cause. (PA-H)

2240. McMillan, Malcolm C. "Taylor's Presidential Campaign in Alabama, 1847-1848," *Ala. Rev.*, XIII (Apr. 1960), 83-108.

Story of the total effort to win Alabama for the Whig candidate. (PA-H)

2241. Miles, Edwin A. "The Keynote Speech at National Nominating Conventions," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVI (Feb. 1960), 26-31.

History, purposes and characteristics of the nominating speech. (PA-H)

2242. Mitgang, Herbert. "What Made Lincoln President," *New York Times Mag.* (Feb. 7, 1960), 19.

Excellent description of the occasion of Lincoln's Cooper Union Speech. (PA-H)

2243. Norton, Herman. "Revivalism in the Confederate Armies," *Civil War Hist.*, VI (Dec. 1960), 410-424.

Considers preaching in the Confederate Armies, 1861-65. (PA-H-R)

2244. Ostendorf, Lloyd. "Lincoln's Ohio Tour," *Lincoln Herald*, LXII (Spring 1960), 13-17.

Some little-known highlights of speeches Lincoln made in Columbus, Dayton, Hamilton and Cincinnati. (PA-H)

2245. Peterson, Owen M. "Aesthetic Apostle: The Southern Lecture Tour of Oscar Wilde," *Southern Speech Jour.*, XXVI (Winter 1960), 100-108.

A lecture tour made during the summer of 1882. (PA-Lit-H)

2246. Ried, Paul E. "Joseph McKean: The Second Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVI (Dec. 1960), 419-424.

The career of a Harvard professor. (1809-17). (PA-ED)

2247. Sandefur, Ray H. "Logan's Oration—How Authentic?" *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVI (Oct. 1960), 289-296.

Considers the controversy over a speech delivered by Mingo Indian Chief John Logan in 1774. (PA-H)

2248. Shenton, James P. "Fascism and Father Coughlin," *Wisc. Mag. of Hist.*, XLIV (Autumn 1960), 6-11.

Defining "fascist" in terms of the then current Italian ideology, concludes that Father Coughlin and his program were not fascist in intent or effects. (PA-H-R)

2249. Windes, Russel Jr. "Adlai E. Stevenson's Speech Staff in the 1956 Campaign," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVI (Feb. 1960), 32-43.

Its organization, purpose and function. (PA-H)

2250. Woodward, Robert C. "W. S. U'Ren and the Single Tax in Oregon," *Ore. Hist. Quar.*, LXI (Mar. 1960), 46-63.

His prodigious speechmaking campaign in 1912 on behalf of the Single Tax. (PA-E-H)

RELIGION

2251. "Approaches to Protestant-Roman Catholic Conversations," *Religion in Life*, XXIX (Spring 1960), 167-221.

Essays by G. Barrois, James Collins, Thomas Sanders, Jaroslav Pelikan, J. V. Langmead Casserley, Samuel J. Wylie. (R-H-P)

2252. Armstrong, Maurice W. "The Dissenting Deputies and the American Colonies," *Church History*, XXIX (Sept. 1960), 298-320.

The Protestant Dissenting Deputies exercised their considerable political influence in England on behalf of religious toleration and liberty in the colonies in several important ways. (R-H)

2253. Baker, Carlos. "The Place of the Bible in American Fiction," *Theology Today*, XVII (Apr. 1960), 53-76.

A number of American novelists have probed into questions for which the accepted answers are inadequate, and in so doing have on occasion elaborated Biblical themes in important ways. (R-Lit)

2254. Brown, Ira V. "The Higher Criticism Comes to America, 1880-1900," *Jour. of the Presbyterian Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII (Dec. 1960), 193-212.

Outline of the work of selected Biblical critics in late 19th-century America. (R-H)

2255. Davis, David Brion. "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic and Anti-Mormon Literature," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVII (Sept. 1960), 205-224.

An exposition of themes that may reflect fundamental ideological tensions within American culture, critical of more simply economic, ethnic or social explanations. (R-H-S)

2256. Duff, Edward. "Church and State in the American Environment," *Studies*, XLIX (Autumn 1960), 229-248.

A Roman Catholic view of the Church's willingness to accept, at least in the United States, the separation of Church and State. (R-H)

2257. Dykstra, John W. "Catholics as a Pluralistic Minority," *Christian Century*, LXXVII (Oct. 19, 1960), 1212-1214.

Several recent developments indicate that the Roman Catholic hierarchy wishes to heighten the social isolation of American Catholics. (R-S)

2258. Gardner, Robert. "A Tenth-Hour Apology for Slavery," *Jour. of So. Hist.*, XXVI (Aug. 1960), 352-367.

The Georgia Baptist clergyman-educator John Leadley Dagg was an important but now forgotten defender of slavery on grounds of Christian morality, especially in *The Elements of Moral Science*, 1859. (R-H)

2259. Griffin, Clifford S. "Cooperation and Conflict: The Schism in the American Home Missionary Society, 1837-1861," *Jour. of the Presbyterian Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII (Dec. 1960), 213-233.

Ecclesiastical and social factors leading to the separation of joint missionary activity by Congregationalists and New School Presbyterians. (R-H)

2260. Gunn, Julien. "Bishop Hobart: Anglican Theologian," *Anglican Theological Rev.*, XLII (Jan. 1960), 9-18.

John Henry Hobart of New York constructed a loose theological system of themes from Hopkinsian Calvinism in the context of Episcopalian denominationalism. (R-H)

2261. Handy, Robert T. "The American Religious Depression, 1925-1935," *Church Hist.*, XXIX (Mar. 1960), 3-16.

It overtook American Protestantism before the onset of the economic depression and weakened the ability of the churches to deal with the latter. Protestantism emerged from the depression on an upturn, but with growing awareness that it was no longer the "national religion." (R-H)

2262. Harrison, Paul M. "Weber's Categories of Authority and Voluntary Association," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXV (Apr. 1960), 232-237.

Adds sub-categories to Max Weber's analysis of bureaucratic systems in order to include modes for the legitimation of authority used by the American Baptist Convention. (R-H-S)

2263. Horton, Douglas. "Let Us Not Forget the Mighty William Ames," *Religion in Life*, XXIX (Summer 1960), 434-442.

The theological significance of Ames for American Puritanism. (R-H)

2264. Hubbell, William K. "Henry Caswall (1810-1870) and the Backwoods Church," *Hist. Mag. of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXIX (Sept. 1960), 219-239.

His religion and English education helped shape early educational policies at Kenyon College and other Episcopalian schools. (R-H-ED)

2265. Illick, Joseph E. III. "The Reception of Darwinism at the Theological Seminary and the College at Princeton, New Jersey," *Jour. of the Presbyterian Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII (Sept., Dec. 1960), 152-165; 234-243. Part I, "The Theological Seminary"; Part II, "The College."

The college, under James McCosh, sought to make an adjustment with Darwinian theory; the seminary, under Charles Hodge, resisted evolutionary thought. (R-H)

2266. "Is There a Neo-Wesleyanism?" *Religion in Life*, XXIX (Autumn 1960), 491-539.

Articles as follows: "What God Hath Joined Together," Paul S. Sanders; "Plenteous Grace With Thee is Found," Willard Allbeck; "Is There a Neo-Wesleyanism?" Percy Scott; "What Kind of Neo-Wesleyanism?" Edwin P. Booth; "Continuity and Change in Methodism," Frederick Norwood; "Neo-Wesleyanism, Neo-Orthodoxy, and the New Testament," Chester Pennington. (R-H)

2267. Kegley, Charles W. "Paul Tillich on the Philosophy of Art," *Jour. of Aesthetics*, XIX (Winter 1960), 175-184.

A critical exposition of Tillich's expressionistic interpretation of art from a theological and philosophical point of view. (R-P-A)

- 2268 Kirwin, Harry W. "James J. Walsh—Medieval Historian and Pathfinder," *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XLV (Jan. 1960), 409-435.

Educator, physician, historian and controversialist, the author of *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*, unlike most of the Catholic intellectuals of his generation, "was not afraid to meet the purveyors of modern progress four square on the lecture platform, in the press and from the pages of the learned and popular journals of the day." (R-ED-S-H)

2269. Lee, Robert. "The Organizational Dilemma in American Protestantism," *Union Seminary Quar. Rev.*, XVI (Nov. 1960), 9-19.

The church must develop appropriate organizational and institutional forms, but

the very institutional embodiments necessary for its survival may threaten, obscure, distort or deflect the purposes for which it was founded. (R-S)

2270. LeFevre, Perry. "Evolutionary Thought and American Religious Education," *Jour. of Religion*, XL (Oct. 1960), 296-308.

The influence of evolutionary thought on religious education in America, focusing on George A. Coe. (R-H-ED)

2271. Littleton, William H. "Alexander Whitaker (1585-1617), 'The Apostle of Virginia,'" *Hist. Mag. of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXIX (Dec. 1960), 325-348.

Career of one of the earliest ministers in the Virginia colony (1611-17). (R-H)

2272. Marty, Martin E. "Composing for the Church: 1960," *Christian Century*, LXXVII (Mar. 23, 1960), 343-345.

The quest for a mode of musical expression suitable to today's church is a difficult one, involving theological as well as musical concerns. (R-MU)

2273. ————— and John A. Hardon. "The Impact of Theology on the Intellectual Life of the Nation," *Delta Epsilon Sigma Bull.*, V (May 1960) Part I, 35-41; (Oct. 1960) Part II, 79-86.

In Part I Marty asserts that "theology, like Christianity, has been displaced from security . . . by secularizing forces . . ." In Part II Father Hardon argues for a theological corrective to "the naturalist miasma infecting the intellectual life of America." (R-S-ED)

2274. Michaelsen, Robert. "Religion and the Presidency," *Christian Century*, LXXVII (Feb. 3 & 10, 1960), 133-135, 159-161.

A treatment of the changing climate of opinion on the issue of a Roman Catholic president. (R-H)

2275. Owen, J. Thomas. "The Church by the Plaza, a History of the Pueblo Church of Los Angeles," *Hist. Soc. of So. Cal. Quar.*, XLII (Mar.-June 1960), 5-28, 186-204.

Los Angeles' "first and principal landmark," a Catholic mission-church dating back to an adobe chapel of the 18th century and becoming "a hybrid of Spanish vintage in a Victorian cask." (R-H-A)

2276. Parsons, Howard L. "The Meaning and Significance of Dewey's Religious Thought," *Jour. of Religion*, XL (July 1960), 170-190.

Dewey's views on religion and their relation to his metaphysics. (R-P)

2277. Pitcher, Alvin. "The Church and the American Achievement Culture," *Foundations*, III (Oct. 1960), 292-305.

The churches should neither ignore nor reject the American culture achievement in which productivity is god, but should reassess and attempt to transform it. (R-MC)

2278. Posey, Walter B. "The Challenge of the Heroic," *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, XXXIV (Apr. 1960), 140-155.

Frontier activity of the Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists, noting the frequent use of alcohol, sabbatarianism, disciplinarianism, sectarianism, the rise of church colleges, Indian work and the role of religion in the slavery question. (R-H-ED-S)

2279. "Religion in American Society," *Annals of the Amer. Acad. of Pol. & Social Sc.*, 332 (Nov. 1960), 1-155.

Fourteen articles covering such topics as "Trends: Past and Present"; "The New Role of the Laity"; "Church and Secular Affairs"; "Division and Unity." (R-ED-H-P-S)

2280. Rolo, Charles J. "Church and State in America," *Atlantic*, CCV (May 1960), 70-72.

Paul Blanshard's *God and Man in Washington* provides impulse for examination of the First Amendment. (R-H)

2281. Samuels, Ernest. "Henry Adams' 20th Century Virgin," *Christian Century*, LXXVII (Oct. 5, 1960), 1143-1146.

Adams stood on the threshold of a development in the Roman Catholic Church—the rise of the cult of Mary—which strikingly illustrates his insights about the "Queen of Heaven." See also rejoinder by John P. McIntyre, S.J., *ibid.* (Jan. 4, 1961). (R-H-Lit)

2282. Scott, Bernard. "The Church and the Frontier of the Arts," *Foundations*, III (July 1960), 214-220.

The arts in America are beginning to wield a definitely religious force. (R-A)

2283. Shiffler, Harrold. "The Chicago Church-Theater Controversy of 1881-1882," *Jour. of the Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, LIII (Winter 1960), 361-375.

In a vigorous polemical battle over morality and the theater, a prominent Presbyterian minister wins an empty victory for Biblical literalism and social conservatism over a theater owner and his liberal clerical support. (R-H-Lit)

2284. Smith, Elwyn A. "The Role of the South in the Presbyterian Schism of 1837-38," *Church Hist.*, XXIX (Mar. 1960), 44-63.

The division of Presbyterianism had its roots in doctrinal and disciplinary patterns that predated the emergence of abolition as a major issue, but the South assured the continuance of a non-sectional Presbyterian denomination until the outbreak of the Civil War. (R-H)

2285. Smylie, James H. "The Roman Catholic Church, The State, and Al Smith," *Church Hist.*, XXIX (Sept. 1960), 321-343.

An examination of Catholic teaching concerning the relationship between Church and State in America in the three decades prior to the nomination of Smith. (R-H)

2286. Stroup, Herbert. "Theological Implications of Anthropology," *Encounter*, XXI (Autumn 1960), 464-468.

In the fresh and critical reexamination of anthropology, as can be seen in the work of some of its American exponents, there is a consideration of some of the more theoretical or philosophical issues embedded within this discipline. (R-S)

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

2287. Ben-David, Joseph. "Scientific Productivity and Academic Organization in Nineteenth Century Medicine," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXV (Dec. 1960), 828-843.

Changes in the relative productivity of the medical sciences in U.S. and other countries 1800-1925 are explained as a result of varying degrees of competitiveness of the academic systems of these countries. (SC-H-ED-S)

2288. "Building for the Performing Arts," *Progressive Arch.*, XLI (June 1960), 86-107.

Blueprints and photographs with commentary that explains recent technological experiments in civic and experimental theaters. (SC-A-Lit)

2289. Burstyn, Harold L. "The Salem Philosophical Library: Its History and Importance for American Science," *Essex Inst. Hist. Collections*, XCVI (July 1960), 169-206.

Nathaniel Bowditch was the most frequent user of this library, which specialized in scientific literature. His fame is derived from the learning he acquired there. (SC-Lit)

2290. Chamblin, J. J. "Natural Selection and Utilitarian Ethics in Chauncey Wright," *Amer. Quar.*, XII (Summer 1960), 144-159.
A "brief of Wright's position with respect to utility, natural selection and the social nature of man." (SC-P)
2291. Demarest, William, R. N. Kennedy *et al.* "Plastics in Architecture," *Progressive Arch.*, XLI (June 1960), 145-207.
A discussion of this topic by a group of chemists, engineers, manufacturers, designers and architects. (SC-A)
2292. Glazier, William. "Automation and the Longshoremen: A West Coast Solution," *Atlantic*, CCVI (Dec. 1960), 57-61.
Labor has a responsibility to originate creative thinking about automation. (SC-E)
2293. Hartwell, Dickson. "The Mighty Jeep," *Amer. Heritage*, XII (Dec. 1960), 38-41.
Delmar G. Roos developed this unique vehicle that was destined to play an important role in World War II and which has since proved to have many civilian uses. (SC-H)
2294. Huxtable, Ada Louise, Burton H. Holmes *et al.* "Concrete Technology in USA," *Progressive Arch.*, XLI (Oct. 1960), 143-202.
Soundly documented statement of the increasing importance of concrete as an architectural material. (SC-A)
2295. Paul, Rodman Wilson. "Colorado as a Pioneer of Science in the Mining West," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVII (June 1960), 34-50.
The contributions of science, especially metallurgy and technology in the rebirth of Colorado mining after 1867. (SC-H)
2296. Peterson, Osler L. "How Good Is Government Medical Care?" *Atlantic*, CCVI (Sept. 1960), 29-33.
The problem of quality control under increased government medical aid. (SC-H-E)
2297. Rabi, I. I. "The Cost of Secrecy," *Atlantic*, CCVI (Aug. 1960), 39-42.
In 15 years little improvement has been made in sharing atomic information; before our skill in handling freedom atrophies, "we must again become a nation of free men informed by a free press." (SC-H)
2298. Swinehart, James W. and Jack W. McLeod. "News about Science: Channels, Audiences, and Effects," *Public Opinion Quar.*, XXIV (Winter 1960), 583-589.
Wide circulation of news about science is not sufficient to increase public understanding of science. (SC-S-MC-ED)
2299. *The Crisis in American Medicine*, a special supplement of *Harper's*, CCXXI (Oct. 1960), 121-168.
Containing: Edward T. Chase, "The Politics of Medicine"; Selig Greenberg, "The Decline of the Healing Art"; Joseph Fletcher, "The Patient's Right to Die"; David D. Rutstein, "Do You Really Want a Family Doctor?"; Lindsay E. Beaton, "A Doctor Prescribes for His Profession"; John M. Russell, "Medical Research: Choked by Dollars"; Martin Cherkasky and Maya Pines, "Tomorrow's Hospitals"; Rene J. Dubos, "Beyond Traditional Medicine."
Surveys problem areas in modern medicine as it touches social patterns, ethics, research, goods. (SC-S-R-E)

2300. Warren, Viola Lockhart. "The Old College of Medicine," *Hist. Soc. of So. Cal. Quar.*, XLII (Mar. 1960), 41-56.

The second and concluding part of a study of the Los Angeles Medical Department of the University of California from 1909 to its closing in 1952. (SC-ED-H)

2301. Wengert, Norman, ed. "Perspectives on Government and Science," *Annals of the Amer. Acad. of Pol. & Social Sc.*, 327 (Jan. 1960), 1-200. Symposium covering: (1) needs, problems and opportunities; (2) administration of government science; (3) government, science and the universities. (SC-H)

SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY

2302. Baur, E. Jackson. "Public Opinion and the Primary Group," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXV (Apr. 1960), 208-219.

A conceptual model and derived hypotheses of the dynamics of public opinion formation are presented on the basis of evidence that primary groups are the generators and sustainers of opinions. (S-MC-H)

2303. Chatfield, E. Charles. "The Southern Sociological Congress: Organization of Uplift," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XIX (Dec. 1960), 328-347. A regional congress (1912-20) that stressed specific problems such as health, child labor, temperance and race relations rather than sociological theory, and acted to organize social welfare. (S-H-R)

2304. Christ, Katharine D. "Christmas In Pennsylvania," *Hist. Rev. Berks County*, XXVI (Winter 1960-61), 21-29.

18th- and 19th-century customs and folklore. (S-H-E-F)

2305. Cohn, Werner. "Social Status and the Ambivalence Hypothesis: Some Critical Notes and a Suggestion," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXV (Aug. 1960), 508-513.

Examines sources for high social status, using the physician as an example. (S-E-SC-PSY)

2306. Coleman, James S. "The Adolescent Subculture and Academic Achievement," *Amer. Jour. of Soc.*, LXV (Jan. 1960), 337-347.

The possible effects of adolescent value systems on education. (S-ED)

2307. Cumberband, Charles C. "The United States-Mexican Border: A Selective Guide to the Literature of the Region," *Rural Soc.*, XXV (June 1960), Supplement, 1-223.

Bibliographic essay and guide arranged under 12 major headings covering all aspects of history and of life in this region. (S-A-E-ED-F-H-Lit-R)

2308. Dobriner, William M. "The Natural History of a Reluctant Suburb," *Yale Rev.*, XLIX (Spring 1960), 399-412.

The fight of the suburb to retain its old status as village is a losing one because the future lies with the metropolis, not with the village. (S-PSY)

2309. Duker, Abraham G. "Notes on the Culture of American Jewry," *Jewish Jour. of Soc.*, II (June 1960), 98-102.

Some ways in which the daily culture of American Jews, especially in religion and language, has been affected by the American environment. (S-R-L)

2310. Faris, Robert E. L. "The Middle Class from a Sociological Viewpoint," *Social Forces*, XXXIX (Oct. 1960), 1-5.

The sociological meaning of "the evolution of our nation toward a general middle-class condition is . . . that the complex organization which civilized man lives by

continues to grow and to embrace more fully the hitherto less organized strata at the lower income and educational levels." (S-E-H-ED)

2311. Ford, Thomas R. "Status, Residence, and Fundamentalist Religious Beliefs in the Southern Appalachians," *Social Forces*, XXXIX (Oct. 1960), 41-49.

Different aspects of religious fundamentalism vary in their relationship to urbanism, educational level and socio-economic status. (S-R-E-ED)

2312. Friedrichs, Robert W. "Alter Versus Ego: An Exploratory Assessment of Altruism," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXV (Aug. 1960), 496-508.

The relationships between altruism and measures of religiosity, authoritarianism, urbanization, faith, neurotic symptomatology, socio-economic status, economic involvement, tolerance of egoism, projection, internalization and socialization are noted. (S-H-E-P-PSY-R)

2313. Friedson, Eliot. "Client Control and Medical Practice," *Amer. Jour. of Soc.*, LXV (Jan. 1960), 374-382.

Two types of practice are distinguished on the basis of their location in two systems: the lay referral system; and the professional referral system. Independent practice is located in the lay referral system and is primarily subject to client controls. Dependent practice is located within the professional referral system and is primarily subject to colleague controls. (S-SC-PSY)

2314. Gieber, Walter. "Two Communicators of the News: A Study of the Roles of Sources and Reporters," *Social Forces*, XXXIX (Oct. 1960), 76-83.

Examination of social-psychological forces controlling the flow of news suggests that the "fate" of the story is determined by the demands of the communicators' reference groups rather than by the needs of the community or mass audience. (S-MC-PSY)

2315. Glueck, Sheldon. "Ten Years of Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency," *Jour. of Criminal Law, Criminology & Police Science*, LI (Sept.-Oct. 1960), 283-309.

Answers the criticisms of his book which have appeared over the past ten years and presents new data. (S-ED-PSY)

2316. Goettel, Gerard L. "Why the Crime Syndicate Can't Be Touched," *Harper's*, CCXXI (Nov. 1960), 33-39.

Better organized than our law-enforcement agencies, it continues to erode "our national wealth, politics, and character." (S-E-H)

2317. Haller, A. O. "The Occupational Achievement Process of Farm-Reared Youth in Urban Industrial Society," *Rural Soc.*, XXV (Sept. 1960), 321-333.

Questionnaire study of farm-reared boys shows significant differences in educational and occupational aspiration between those who conceive of themselves as future farmers and those who do not. (S-ED)

2318. Heiss, Jerold S. "Premarital Characteristics of the Religiously Intermarried in Urban Areas," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXV (Feb. 1960), 47-55.

The prevalence of intermarriage is associated with such variables as family integration, parent-child relationships, the extent of early ties with religion, socio-economic status, ethnicity and religion. (S-E-ED-R-PSY)

2319. Jennings, Jesse D. "Early Man in Utah"; "The Aboriginal Peoples," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXVIII (Jan., July 1960), 3-27, 211-221.

Preliterate culture from the Desert period through the Pueblo and early Historic periods. Illustrated. (S-H-A)

2320. Kaufman, Arnold S. "The Irresponsibility of American Social Scientists," *Inquiry* (Oslo, Norway), III (Summer 1960), 102-117.
A close analysis of motivations, methods and value orientations. (S-P-R)
2321. Keniston, Kenneth. "Alienation and the Decline of Utopia," *Amer. Scholar*, XXIX (Spring 1960), 161-200.
Social trends in American culture that help explain "the increasing distastefulness of our culture to its potential recruits." (S-E-Lit-MC-P-PSY-R)
2322. Kristol, Irving. "Keeping Up With Ourselves," *Yale Rev.*, XLIX (Summer 1960), 509-517.
Demolition of ideologies if it does not tell us where to go can at best help Americans to keep up with themselves. (S-P-PSY)
2323. La Farge, Oliver. "The Enduring Indian," *Scientific Amer.*, CCII (Feb. 1960), 37-45.
Contrary to popular belief the Indian is not vanishing; despite "slaughter, assimilation, disease and dislocation" he maintains his identity. (S-H)
2324. Larrabee, Eric. "Pornography Is Not Enough," *Harper's*, CCXXI (Nov. 1960), 87-96.
Censorship has freed sexual inhibitions in literature, but the "true obscenities of American life lie in our vicious public consumption of human suffering. . . ." (S-Lit)
2325. Lewis, Gordon F. "A Comparison of Some Aspects of the Backgrounds and Careers of Small Businessmen and American Business Leaders," *Amer. Jour. of Soc.*, LXV (Jan. 1960), 348-355.
Small businessmen generally have less education, come less frequently from business and professional backgrounds, start their careers earlier and more often as unskilled or semiskilled workers. (S-E-ED)
2326. Liu, William T. "The Marginal Catholics in the South, A Revision of Concepts," *Amer. Jour. of Soc.*, LXV (Jan. 1960), 383-390.
The area of value integration is compared with patterns of social participation and degrees of identification with the South. The marginal cases are found among those with "high" rather than "low" Catholicity. (S-R)
2327. Lomax, Louis E. "The Negro Revolt Against 'The Negro Leaders,'" *Harper's*, CCXX (June 1960), 41-48.
Student demonstrations have set a new pattern in which the Negro masses are rejecting their century-old "ruling class"; exit the Negro leader and enter the Negro individual. (S-E-H)
2328. Maccoby, Herbert. "Controversy, Neutrality, and Higher Education," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXV (Dec. 1960), 884-893.
Relative support for ideas and practices associated with academic freedom is related to such factors as teaching specialization, functional status, administrative control and institutional level. (S-ED)
2329. Michael, Donald N. "The Beginning of the Space Age and American Public Opinion," *Public Opinion Quar.*, XXIV (Winter 1960), 573-582.
Opinions are often inconsistent but on the whole, calm, since space age problems do not directly affect individual life. (S-H-MC-PA-SC)
2330. Moseley, Ray. "Detroit's Welfare Empire," *Atlantic*, CCV (Apr. 1960), 43-46.
Wholesale migration of labor from Southern states has brought sharp rise in welfare costs. (S-E)

2331. Moss, James Allen. "Currents of Change in American Race Relations," *British Jour. of Soc.*, XI (Sept. 1960), 232-243.

Rate of change has been uneven. In the armed forces and professional baseball it has been unexpectedly rapid. In schools, housing and college teaching slow or almost non-existent. (S-ED-E)

2332. Nussbaum, Martin. "Sociological Symbolism of the 'Adult Western,'" *Social Forces*, XXXIX (Oct. 1960), 25-28.

As a folk-type art form it expresses the emotions, fears, inadequacies and psychoses of modern man. (S-PSY-F-MC-Lit)

2333. Ogburn, Charlton Jr. "America the Expendable," *Harper's*, CCXXI (Aug. 1960), 56-64.

American determination to "force the pace," to pursue time, is fast destroying natural and human resources as it changes our way of life. (S-H)

2334. Owen, John E. "American Winds of Change," *Contemporary Rev.*, No. 1133 (June 1960), 297-299.

Improvement in status of Negroes in the South and its effects, especially upon religion and education. (S-R-ED)

2335. Poblete, Renato, S. J. and Thomas O'Dea. "Anomie and the 'Quest for Community': The Formation of Sects among the Puerto Ricans of New York," *Amer. Cath. Soc. Rev.*, XXI (Spring 1960), 18-37.

Analysis of formation of Protestant fundamentalist sects as a method of achieving security and integration in a new environment. (S-PSY-R)

2336. Potter, R. G. Jr. "Some Comments on the Evidence Pertaining to Family Limitation in the United States," *Population Studies*, XIV (July 1960), 40-54.

Three types of data are reviewed: reports of respondents about their own family limitation; incidence of contraception, induced abortion and sterilization; the average pregnancy rate during contraception and its trend with increasing marriage duration. It is found that these data do not support each other, and several hypotheses are advanced towards explaining the inconsistency. (S-E-SC)

2337. Robinson, Allyn P. "Roots of Anti-Semitism in American Life," *Social Action*, XXVII (Nov. 1960), 3-13.

Although social discrimination against the Jews has had several causes, important among these has been anti-Semitism in the Christian church. (S-R-H)

2338. Rosenthal, Erich. "Acculturation Without Assimilation? The Jewish Community of Chicago, Illinois," *Amer. Jour. of Soc.*, LXVI (Nov. 1960), 275-288.

Its demand for housing in the area of highest status may be as important as its desire for voluntary segregation in preventing large-scale assimilation. (S-R)

2339. Schmid, Calvin F. "Urban Crime Areas: Part I," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXV (Aug. 1960), 527-542.

Describes significant economic, demographic and social determinants of crime areas in a large urban community. (S-E-ED)

2340. Selvin, Hanan C. and Warren O. Hagstrom. "Determinants of Support for Civil Liberties," *British Jour. of Soc.*, XI (Mar. 1960), 51-73.

Attempts to prove by a survey of opinion taken on the Berkeley campus of the University of California that legal guarantees of individual freedom such as those embodied in the American Bill of Rights can remain effective when only a minority voices approval of them. (S-ED-H-Law)

2341. Simon, Kate. "The Three Harleys and What Is Happening to Them," *Harper's*, CCXX (Mar. 1960), 62-66.
 In 30 years Harlem has become less exotic but more habitable. (S-MC-MU)
2342. Simpson, Richard L. and Ida. "Values, Personal Influence and Occupational Choice," *Social Forces*, XXXIX (Dec. 1960), 116-125.
 The interrelationships between values, personal influence and occupational choice are investigated in a study of the career decisions of college students planning to enter business, scientific and aesthetic, and general cultural occupations. (S-E-ED-A-SC)
2343. Smith, Elmer L. "Family Harvest, the Amish Wedding," *Hist. Rev. Berks County*, XXVI (Winter 1960-61), 6-12.
 Social and religious aspects, with brief reference to accompanying folklore. (S-R-H-F)
2344. Spinrad, William. "Correlates of Trade Union Participation: A Summary of the Literature," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXV (Apr. 1960), 237-244.
 Variables apparently correlated with union activity are grouped into three interrelated classes: objective conditions of job and residence, personal associations and personal orientations. (S-E)
2345. Stocking, George W. Jr. "Franz Boas and the Founding of the American Anthropological Association," *Amer. Anthropologist*, LXII (Feb. 1960), 1-17.
 ". . . this episode in the history of American anthropology was part of a general contemporary process of professionalization in the social sciences in this country." (S-H)
2346. Straus, Donald B. "Can We Afford to be Healthy?" *Harper's*, CCXXI (July 1960), 38-43.
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2350. Wilson, Robert N. "Literature and Sociology," *Alpha Kappa Delta*, XXX (Spring 1960), 32-36.
 Lists specific areas and questions on which collaboration would be useful. (S-Lit)



AMERICAN STUDIES

DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS

The purpose of this checklist is to inform the ASA membership of the interdisciplinary dissertations-in-progress involving an American subject. Although the entries primarily represent research in formal programs in American Studies, any dissertation topic, no matter what its auspices, may be included if it represents more than one academic discipline pertinent to an American subject. Those who supplied information for this listing were asked to indicate that more than one discipline was involved and to specify the disciplines. Any American subject might be relevant to American Studies, but since other journals devoted to individual disciplines already list dissertations-in-progress the encyclopedic record—and repetition—of such subjects would serve some purpose other than the purpose of this selective checklist.

Each entry in the checklist includes author, title, the degree for which the dissertation is written (D or M), and the school at which the student is enrolled. Completed dissertations bear a date: customarily, the date of the graduate degree to which this dissertation contributed.

Additions and corrections will be included in the next checklist if they are addressed to the Bibliographer.

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AID TO GRADUATE STUDENTS IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION FOR 1962-63

THE FOLLOWING IS THE SECOND ANNUAL REPORT ON FINANCIAL AID CURRENTLY available to graduate students of American Civilization.¹ Information on awards available (i.e., type, attendant obligations, number, designation or source, amount, renewability, taxability) and application procedure (i.e., addressee, use of standard forms, nature of supporting materials required, special qualifications of applicants, deadlines, etc.) was solicited concerning graduate programs in 28 universities, of which 25 have replied with relevant data. In some cases, information on the nature of the program was submitted and is here included.

As with the first report, this is not an exhaustive summary of all available financial aid. Rather, our information pertains largely to in-university and NDEA sources. Again, loan funds have not been listed for each school because of their general availability; information on loans can best be had by writing directly to the graduate school in question. Variations in the detail of information returned to us, the fact that some programs did not reply and the probability that we failed to contact some programs, all contribute to the limitations of the compilation. In view of this, we join the compilers of the first report in suggesting the following sources of information on private and public financial aid to students: Virginia Bosch Potter, *Fellowships in the Arts and Sciences 1960-61*, 3rd edition (The Association of American Colleges, 1959) and Richard C. Mattingly, *Financial Aid for College Students: Graduates* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1957).

Finally, the compilers wish to thank all respondents for the promptness of their replies and to urge the directors of programs which we may have overlooked to communicate with the editor of this journal so that their offerings will be included in the next report.

STANLEY BAILIS, BERNARD MERGEN and JOYCE KAYSER
For the Committee of the Graduate American
Civilization Club, University of Pennsylvania

Baylor University, Waco, Tex.: 1 Scholarship (Dixon Wecter American Civilization Scholarship), \$1000 plus tuition, non-renewable, non-taxable,

¹ The first appears in *American Quarterly*, XII, No. 2, Pt. 2 (Summer 1960), 310-314.

awarded every other year, not awarded 1961-62, application to Chairman, Dixon Wecter Scholarship Committee, no standard forms required; letter-references, transcripts to Graduate School; Apr. 15.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, Providence, R. I.: 5-10 fellowships, \$1700 plus tuition; 5-10 University scholarships, up to \$1000 plus tuition; all renewable, non-taxable, university-wide competition; 2 Teaching Associates, \$1800-\$2000 plus tuition, renewable for one year, taxable, awarded only after a year in residence; forms from Graduate School; new applicants and first-year students require letters of recommendation, transcripts, etc.; graduate record exams recommended; early in Feb.; need and scholastic ability.

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO, N. Y.: no fixed number of fellowships, \$250-\$2000; no fixed number of scholarships, part or full tuition; both renewable and non-taxable; three letters and forms to the Graduate School; Mar. 15; full standing in Graduate School.

COLGATE UNIVERSITY, Hamilton, N. Y.: 14 Graduate Preceptorships (approximately 7 per year), \$1300-\$1600 plus tax-free tuition "for half time academic counseling to about 30 freshmen. Fortnightly meetings individually and monthly meetings with entire group."); renewable for one year, stipend taxable; letter, application form, transcript and character reference to Director of Preceptorial Studies; Mar. 15; B.A. and interest in counseling, secondary school teaching, college personnel work.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY, Ithaca, N. Y.: ". . . what we offer here is not regularly offered and is not available to other than students already enrolled for graduate work at Cornell." A variable number of Senior Fellowships in American Studies ("normally worth approximately \$2500 plus tuition and fees") are awarded to students who have completed all graduate work for the Ph.D. except the doctoral dissertation and who are working in an American area as major field of interest (and dissertation). "Generally, students do not apply for these fellowships. The John L. Senior Professor [of American Institutions, Clinton Rossiter] indicates to the relevant departments whether any will be available, and then the Depts. of English, History, Economics, Govt., and Sociology consider whether they have nominees. Thus far no award has ever been made to a student who was candidate for a degree elsewhere than Cornell, and is unlikely to be."

UNIVERSITY OF DENVER, Colo.: 5 NDEA Scholarships, \$2000-\$2400 plus tuition and dependent payments; renewable for three years, non-taxable; 5 University Assistantships, \$2000 plus one-third tuition; renewable and taxable; forms, three recommendations, transcript, photograph, 300-word statement, B.A.; to the Department, Feb. 22 for fellowships; letter to the

Department, June 1 for 10 assistantships. "The program in American Studies at the Ph.D. and Master's level is new as of September, 1959."

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY, Tallahassee: no fixed number of fellowships, but one per year commonly awarded to graduate students of the American Studies Program, \$1500 and waiver of out-of-state tuition, renewable and non-taxable; application, photograph, transcript and letters of recommendation to Graduate School, Feb. 15.

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, Washington, D. C.: 5 University Fellowships, \$1350 plus \$500 tuition; 1 graduate teaching assistantship, \$1215 plus 20 hours tuition; fellowship renewable, both taxable; letter, forms and three references to Department of English, Mar. 1.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Cambridge, Mass.: no fixed number of fellowships ("depends on needs of academic departments"), one-fifth approximately \$900 and three-fifths "maximum" (unspecified); no fixed number of scholarships, no \$ limits but work restricted to 10 hours per week; assistantships available by departments same as fellowships; all are renewable and "?" taxable; fellowships available from departments after first year, no set procedure but application form; form, letters to Graduate School of Arts and Sciences for scholarships and grants; deadline varies, usually Feb.-Mar.; academic merit.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, Iowa City: no fixed number of fellowships, \$530 and up; no fixed number of scholarships, full remission of tuition and fees, \$140 per semester; both renewable and non-taxable; no fixed number of assistantships, "individually determined" \$, renewable and taxable; all fellowships, scholarships and assistantships by forms and supplementary materials to Chairman, American Civilization Program, Mar. 3.

KENT STATE UNIVERSITY, Ohio: "program is an informal one consisting of a collection of courses under direction of either History or English. It is possible, then, to pursue such a program, but no degree is presently offered in American Civilization on either graduate or undergraduate level. Degrees in English are in English language or literature, and in American literature." 3 NDEA fellowships, \$2000-\$2400; 8 University assistantships, \$1600, both renewable, only assistantship taxable; applications to Department, letter, forms, references and/or supplementary materials; fellowships, "special qualifications," deadline Mar. 1; assistantships require transcripts, deadline Mar. 15.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, College Park: 1 Fellowship in American Civilization, \$800; unspecified assistantships in English and History, \$1800; both renewable and taxable; letter and supplementary materials to the

Department (forms for assistantship) in both cases; Mar.; "Strong background in English, History" for assistantships.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, Ann Arbor: 2-3 University Fellowships, \$1600 (residents)—\$1900 (non-residents), renewable; 1 first-year Graduate Fellowship, \$2100 plus fees; 1 Predoctoral Fellowship, \$2250 plus fees; both not renewable; all non-taxable; unspecified Teaching Fellowships (English), \$1400; unspecified Non-Teaching Assistantships (English), \$225 per semester; both renewable and taxable; forms, references and supplementary material to Graduate School for fellowships and scholarships, Feb. 1; "high academic record with more A's than B's. Knowledge of at least one foreign language; letters and forms to Department of English for assistantships"; Apr. 1.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, Minneapolis: no fixed number of Greater University Fellowships and Graduate School Doctoral Fellowships, \$2000, renewable and non-taxable, "awarded on the basis of scholarship, general merit and promise to advanced doctoral students already enrolled at the University"; 5 quarter-time assistantships in American Studies, \$1050 and resident fee charges, renewable and taxable; unspecified number of assistantships in various departments and colleges of the University, \$ varies, M.A. or B.A. in one of the departments concerned; transcript, letters of recommendation, student papers, form and letters for assistantships to Chairman, Program in American Studies; Feb. 15.

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO, Albuquerque: an unspecified number of fellowships, \$1200-\$1800, which are renewable and non-taxable; an unspecified number of Teaching Assistantships in English (\$2100) and Graduate Assistantships in "other departments" (\$1900), all renewable and taxable; applications for all awards through Graduate School; letters, forms, references and transcripts required; Feb. 15. "Resident tuition' deductible from both awards."

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, N. Y.: no fixed number of University Scholarships (average 1-2 years), up to \$2000 including full tuition (includes the Louis Lerner Memorial Scholarship for full tuition, \$1050, restricted to graduate students of American civilization or American literature); renewable and non-taxable; no fixed number of assistantships, \$2000-\$2400, renewable and taxable; forms, transcript and letters of recommendation to Graduate School for fellowships; letter to English Department for assistantships; both Mar. 1.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, Philadelphia 4: 15-20 Harrison Fellowships (men), \$1500 plus tuition, renewable for one year and non-taxable; 20-30 University Fellowships, up to \$2000 plus tuition; 2 Moore Fellowships for women, \$500 plus tuition; 2 Bennett Fellowships for women,

\$400 plus tuition; all renewable and non-taxable; 15 Harrison Scholarships (men), \$400 plus tuition, non-renewable and non-taxable; 50 University Scholarships and 10 Ashton Scholarships, tuition, renewable and non-taxable; unspecified number of assistantships in various departments, \$750 to \$2000 plus tuition, renewable and taxable; forms, three references and student papers to Dean, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences for fellowships and scholarships; Feb. 18; letter to Department concerned for assistantships; Mar. 1.

STETSON UNIVERSITY, DeLand, Fla.: 18 scholarships available, summer session only, tuition-room-board, renewable, "non-taxable if working for advanced degree"; forms from Director, Summer Institutes; forms and college transcript to Chairman, The Charles E. Merrill Program of American Studies, Mar. 15; "The Awards are Intended Primarily for Secondary Teachers in the State of Florida, Although Some Non-Residents May Apply."

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY, N. Y.: ". . . the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs offers no fellowships or scholarships specifically assigned to American Studies. However, three fellowships and a number of assistantships are available each year for candidates for the degree of Doctor of Social Science and interdisciplinary degrees preparatory to college teaching. Within this program many students elect a concentration in American Studies."

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, Austin: "There are no awards specifically for American Studies. Graduate Students are eligible for all available awards for graduate study."

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH, Salt Lake City: "Five students at the University of Utah presently hold NDEA fellowships in American Studies, but the Institute of American Studies has no further fellowships to offer. However, students with B.A.'s or M.A.'s in English may apply for teaching assistantships in the English Department."

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY, Cleveland 6, Ohio: no fixed number of Tuition Scholarships ("generally two or three"), \$1050 full tuition; letter, forms, references and supplementary material to Director of Admission; Mar. 1.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, Madison: 58 University Fellowships, \$1870; 15 Knapp Fellowships, \$1830; 8 University Scholarships, \$1200; all non-taxable; unlimited Non-resident Scholarships (provide remission of out-of-state fees), renewable and non-taxable; unlimited Teaching Assistantships, \$1433.33 (one half time); all renewable and taxable; Project and Research Assistantships, \$1965 (one half time), all renewable and taxable

(except Research Assistantships); all application procedures the same—transcripts, forms and letters to both the Graduate School and the major department, letters of recommendation to the major department ("apply to the Graduate School for admission, and to the Department for everything else"); Feb. 15; high grade average preferred (3.5 to 4.0).

UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING, Laramie: 8 Coe Fellowships, \$2000 plus partial remission of fees; 50 Coe Scholarships, 5-week summer term, for secondary school teachers, \$125 plus fees and travel allowances; both non-renewable and non-taxable; forms, supporting letter to Director, School of American Studies, Mar. 1 (Apr. 1 for summer awards); no work offered beyond the M.A.

YALE UNIVERSITY, New Haven, Conn.: 9 Coe Fellowships in American Studies, up to \$2350, renewable and non-taxable; unspecified fellowships and scholarships on the basis of university-wide competition, varying amounts; all applications including letters, forms, recommendations and transcript to both the Graduate School and the American Studies Program, Feb. 1; doctoral degree must be received within seven years of beginning of graduate study at Yale or elsewhere, ". . . our policy is to try to help a student to carry through to the degree after a year's residence in which to show the student's ability on equal terms with other students of his year."



WRITINGS ON THE THEORY AND TEACHING OF AMERICAN STUDIES

This is the fourth annual bibliography. Interest continues to focus on the theory and philosophy of American Studies.

Each entry is listed once under its appropriate heading. Though the survey for this bibliography was done as systematically as possible, some items may have been overlooked. These should be brought to the attention of the editor for inclusion in the next annual bibliography. No systematic search was made in newspapers, private university publications or alumni magazines.

A special committee of the American Studies Association of New York State has been responsible for the preparation of the bibliography.

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I. THE PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICAN STUDIES

American Perspectives: The National Self-Image in the Twentieth Century, Edited for The American Studies Association by Robert E. Spiller and Eric Larrabee, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961.

A collaborative volume of synthesis in the Library of Congress series on twentieth-century American culture, with chapters on the arts and sciences, politics, economic institutions, popular culture and mass production. Most of the contributors report an emerging pattern of change, dissatisfaction and release of new cultural energies. At the same time, they find a diffusion of the self-image which is both alarming and hopeful.

Bailey, Thomas A. "America's Emergence as a World Power: the Myth and the Verity," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXX (Feb. 1961), 1-16.

A leading diplomatic historian develops the thesis that America became a world power in 1776 rather than in 1898.

Berthoff, Roland. "The American Social Order: A Conservative Hypothesis," *American Historical Review*, LXV (Apr. 1960), 495-514.

Viewing mobility as the central theme of American history, the author proposes a theory of social stability and disintegration to explain three centuries of American life. From this viewpoint, the chief resistance to change has come from liberal reformers who unconsciously wished to restore the social stability of an earlier time.

Boorstin, Daniel J. *America and the Image of Europe*, New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1960.

A stimulating collection of essays concerned "with how the image of Europe has given us our bearing, and yet how un-European is the framework of our life and the pattern of our history."

Buehrer, Edwin T. "Retracing the Liberal Tradition," *Humanist*, XX (May-June 1960), 133-142.

Our liberal and democratic ideals stem from a tradition separate from the Judaeo-Christian, one having roots in the Arian heresy.

Dale, Edwin L. Jr. "The Case for Optimism," *The Yale Review*, XLIX (June 1960), 481-487.

Recent history encourages and supports the traditional American quality of optimism vis-a-vis world affairs in the future.

Hinchliffe, Arnold P. "The Good American," *Twentieth Century*, CLXVIII (Dec. 1960), 529-539.

An estimate of the American character which is not primarily literary, though based on James's *The American*, Gerald Sykes' *The Nice American*, Graham Greene's *The Quiet American*, Lederer and Burdick's *The Ugly American*.

Hoopes, Townsend. "The Persistence of Illusion: the Soviet Economic Drive and American National Interest," *The Yale Review*, XLIX (Mar. 1960), 321-337.

There is an urgent need for national education to certain conditions of modern life if America is to overcome the dangerously innocent faith in its own superiority, invincibility and business approach to national policy.

Hynes, Sam. "The American Pattern," *Commonweal*, LXXI (Oct. 16, 1959), 68-70.

If there is something unique about America, it may reside in those conflicts which "are the heart of our national identity." D. H. Lawrence "first applied this view of America-as-conflict to the study of our literature."

Jones, Howard Mumford. *The Scholar as American*, The Abbott Lawrence Lowell Inaugural Lecture (Harvard University, Oct. 3, 1960).

One of the deans of the American Studies movement berates its younger scholars for neglecting Latin-American culture, for identifying American literature with a "message of darkness and revulsion" and for being insufficiently acquainted with the European culture from which we spring.

Kristol, Irving. "Keeping up with Ourselves," *The Yale Review*, XLIX (June 1960), 509-517.

In the society of modern America, uniquely committed to the principle of constant social change, the incessant re-examination and destruction of ideologies and of assumptions and preconceptions concerning progress, is necessary to national self-understanding. Daniel Bell's book, *The End of Ideology*, is a fine example of this process.

Lee, Everett S. "The Turner Thesis Reexamined," *American Quarterly*, XIII (Spring 1961), 77-83.

From several points of view, "migration is one of the most important factors in American civilization." Turner's frontier thesis may be "a special case of an as yet undeveloped migration theory," which might be constructed through modern sociological and historical methods of study.

Marx, Leo. "Two Kingdoms of Force," *The Massachusetts Review*, I (Oct. 1959), 62-95.

Argues that the contrast between the two cardinal images of value, the machine and the native landscape, dramatizes the great issue of American culture: "It is the germ, as Henry James put it, of the most final of all questions about America."

Ostrander, Gilman. *The Rights of Man in America, 1606-1861*, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1960.

An exploration of the forces which worked singly and in combination to create the national experience from which American democracy could develop.

Peterson, Merrill D. *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1960.

Searches for the true and consistent image of Jefferson reflect the larger searches for the true and consistent image of America herself.

Randel, William. "Toward a Method in American Studies," *Quarterly Journal of the Florida Academy of Science*, XXIII (Spring 1960), 67-70.

A proposal for a philosophic-anthropological method which goes beyond social anthropology to extend its purview to the foreign image of the United States, the influence of foreign origins, the diffusion of culture and the major American myths and scholarly theories. In order to acquire a larger critical perspective, the author recommends a year of study or teaching abroad.

Sanford, Charles L. *The Quest for Paradise: Europe and the American Moral Imagination*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961.

Arguing that the myth of the Garden of Eden has been "the most powerful and comprehensive organizing force in American culture," the author studies its influence upon American art, literature, political thought, manufacturing and foreign policy. Earlier chapters explore its origins and rise in European thought.

Schaff, Philip. *America* ed. by Perry Miller. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961.

Lectures delivered by a conservative German expert on cultures and languages which attempt to characterize American civilization for his colleagues in Berlin and Frankfurt. Schaff gave the lectures in 1854 and they were published in 1855 as "the preeminent account by an early 19th-century immigrant of what translation to the New World meant."

Sellers, C. G. Jr., ed. *The Southerner as American*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960.

Nine essays on various aspects of southern culture attempt to place it squarely in the American tradition and to demolish the mythical complex which has set the South apart.

Stein, Maurice R. *The Eclipse of Community: An Interpretation of American Studies*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960.

After a review of the basic approaches to the study of human behavior and social patterns by sociologists, anthropologists and psychoanalysts, the author applies his own "dramaturgic" method to community study. He feels that the present struggles in American suburbia "reflect the desire for deeper human encounters and experiences than those encouraged by the preoccupation with status."

Tead, Ordway. "What Are America's Purposes?" *Educational Forum*, XXV (Mar. 1961), 317-323.

The author reminds us of the great historic tradition and affirmations of national purpose, enumerates some of the issues confronting us and suggests a new orientation in college curricula.

Van Der Kroef, Justus M. "Zen and the American Experience," *Visvabhārati Quarterly*, XXV (Autumn 1959), 122-123.

The American tendency toward pessimism about the human condition and a new scientific naturalism create a climate for Zen.

Ward, John W. "Individualism Today," *The Yale Review*, XLIX (Mar. 1960), 380-392.

Individualism in modern America, unlike that of Emerson and Thoreau, can be a useful system of values only when reconciled with the facts of social complexity through the establishment of community in Royce's sense.

II. COURSES AND PROGRAMS IN AMERICAN STUDIES

Adams, Percy G. "American Literature in the Universities of France," *Studies in Honor of John C. Hodges and Alwin Thaler*. Tennessee Studies in Literature: Special Number. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1961. 175-184.

The best review to date of the situation in France, by a former Fulbright scholar. American Studies has made great gains on the undergraduate level, but is fighting strong forces against its acceptance on the graduate level. The main forces which retard the study of our literature in France are the long-standing prejudice about the lack of culture in the United States, the shortage of money in French education and the closer connections which French graduate students have with England than with the United States.

"American Studies Abroad: A Five-Year Program Supported by the Ford Foundation," *ACLS Newsletter*, XI (Dec. 1960), 2.

The American Council of Learned Societies will administer a \$2,500,000 grant "to strengthen the teaching of American Studies in European universities."

"American Studies Program," *ACLS Newsletter*, XII (May 1961), 1.

Lists members of advisory committee for this program and states that it "will concentrate upon the provision of fellowships to junior faculty members of European universities to enable them to further their specialization" and will provide "initial financial assistance to selected European universities interested in establishing chairs or other types of permanent teaching positions devoted to the teaching of American Studies."

"American Studies Programs at Yale University," *Yale University American Studies Newsletter*, No. 4 (July 1960), 4-13.

A detailed description of the undergraduate standard and honors program, with a list of readings in the new course offerings. A high proportion of undergraduate essay prizes have been won by graduating seniors in the honors program. "The standard program still remains one of the most popular electives as an undergraduate major field at Yale." The summer program for secondary school teachers and the graduate program are also briefly described. The latter will be discussed in greater detail in the next issue of the *Newsletter*. The over-all program would seem to be one of the most thoughtfully constructed American Studies programs in this country.

Asselineau, Roger. "American Studies in France," *EAAS Newsletter of the European Association for American Studies*, V (1959-1960), 14.

"More and more students are attracted by the 'Certificate of American Literature and Civilization' in all universities." More doctoral theses are being written on American subjects.

Gerhard, Dietrich *et al.* "Summer Schools and Special Sessions on American Problems," *EAAS Newsletter of the European Association for American Studies*, V (1959-1960), 14-18.

Brief reports of seminars, conferences and summer sessions in France, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands and Belgium. The faculties include European and American specialists in most cases.

Glazier, Lyle. "A Curriculum in American Studies," *Journal of Higher Education*, XXXII (Feb. 1961), 91-93.

Describes an integrated program for American Studies majors at the University of Buffalo. Although the focus is on American literature, the program is wide and deep in its range.

Hintz, Howard W. "The American Studies Seminar at Brooklyn College," *The Newsletter of the Inter-university Committee on the Superior Student*, IV (Mar. 1961), 21-23.

Describes a successful reading and discussion seminar, first established in 1940 for 15 selected seniors. The reading requirement averages two books a week during two semesters.

Thompson, Arthur. "The Development of American Studies in Japan," *American Studies*, V (July 1960), 1-8.

The author reports a general rising interest in America juxtaposed with a growing acceptance of an interdisciplinary view among faculty and students. Two Japanese industrialists are planning the creation of a Japanese Foundation for the support of American Studies in Japanese universities.

Vanderbilt, Kermit. *The American Civilization Institute for Teachers from Europe, University of Washington Graduate School, September 24 to December 16, 1960* (A Report for The U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, The Office of Education, in Cooperation with the U. S. Department of State, 1960).

Describes an interesting, integrated eleven-week program of lectures and seminars concentrating on major figures, works, themes and problems in American Civilization. Three unifying works studied were Lewis' *The American Adam*, Smith's *Virgin Land* and Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*.

III. SUBJECTS AND METHODS OF TEACHING

Berelson, Bernard. *Graduate Education in the United States*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960.

A survey of the present state of American graduate study which calls the record of interdisciplinary programs such as American Studies "unimpressive." They tend to attract less able students who end up knowing less than their fellows in related, more specialized disciplines. "Depth *plus* breadth in graduate study does not seem to be practical in time or money, and probably not in energy or capability. . . ."

Braddy, Haldeen. "Poe's Flight from Reality," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, I (Autumn 1959), 394-400.

The American Studies approach is inadequate for understanding Poe, who, far from reflecting his age, sought escape from reality.

Hillbruner, Anthony. "American Studies and Public Address," *Western Speech* (Winter 1960), 49-51.

The author argues that the study of American Public Address, so frequently neglected by the devotees of American Studies, can make a unique contribution to the integrative function of American Studies programs.

Straumann, H. "The Image of America in Europe," *EAAS Newsletter of the European Association for American Studies*, V (1959-1960), 4-8.

For those teachers and scholars who are interested in the European views of America, here is a proposed outline of research to be organized by the EAAS. It suggests topics, methods, materials and a small number of secondary sources.

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Basler, Roy P., ed. *A Guide to the Study of the United States of America: Representative Books Reflecting the Development of American Life and Thought*, Washington: Library of Congress, 1960.

A major reference work covering such topics as literature, books and libraries, and literary history and criticism.

Carman, Harry J., and Arthur W. Thompson. *A Guide to the Principal Sources for American Civilization, 1800-1900, in the City of New York: Manuscripts*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960.

Covers all aspects of the history of American Civilization.

Gunz, Dieter, ed. "Bibliography Americana Germanica, 1959," *American-German Review*, XXVI (Apr.-May 1960), 28-35.

The 19th bibliography on German-American studies, listing 219 articles and books, as well as 21 theses or dissertations in progress. A "Bibliographical Index" of Americana-Germanica is being prepared by the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation.

Davis, Richard Beale. "The Library of Congress Guide," *American Quarterly*, XII, No. 2, Pt. 2 (Summer 1960), 237-241.

A critical review of this important new reference work, the full title of which appears above.

Engel, Charlotte. "The Jahrbuch fur Amerikastudien," *EAAS Newsletter of the European Association for American Studies*, V (1959-1960), 20.

A pre-publication review of the fourth volume in this series. The first three volumes were reported in the *American Quarterly* Summer Supplement, 1959, p. 242.

Engel, Charlotte. "Source Material Concerning American History in German Archives," *EAAS Newsletter of the European Association for American Studies*, V (1959-1960), 19-20.

A second progress report on this collection, which will fill ten volumes, to be reproduced by the xerographic method.

European Association for American Studies. "Current Bibliography, 1958-1959," *EAAS Newsletter of the Association for American Studies*, V (1959-1960), 22-36.

This fifth annual installment covers all the more important books, monographs and printed doctoral dissertations relating to America and published in Europe from the beginning of 1958 to the end of 1959. Periodical literature is not included.

Hamer, Philip M., ed. *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States*. Compiled for the National Historical Publications Commission. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.

Covers twenty thousand collections of personal papers and archival groups in fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone.

Koster, Donald N. et al. "Articles in American Studies, 1959" *American Quarterly*, XII, No. 2, Pt. 2 (Summer 1960), 242-294.

The sixth issue of the annotated interdisciplinary bibliography of current articles in American Studies. Coverage is international, though quite selective.

Lagerquist, Philip B. "The Harry S. Truman Library: a New Research Center for the Middle West," *Journal of the Central Mississippi Valley American Studies Association*, I (Spring 1960), 1-9.

Describes the resources of this library for students of American life and culture.

Leach, Henry Goddard. "The Publications of the American-Scandinavian Foundation," *The American-Scandinavian Review*, XLVIII (Autumn 1960), 237-240.

These publications are aimed primarily at the "dissemination in the United States of correct knowledge about Scandinavia," and at the publicizing of Scandinavian institutions, problems and personalities in relation to America.

Marshall, Thomas F. et al. *Literature and Society: Annual Bibliography for 1958*, Kent, Ohio: General Topics VI, MLA, 1959 (10 pp. mimeographed).

_____. *idem* for 1959, 1960 (11 pp. mimeographed).

_____. *idem* for 1960, 1961 (9 pp. mimeographed).

A selective annual bibliography of books and articles published in the United States, but relating to European as well as American literature. In the Fall of 1961, the University of Miami hopes to publish a volume of selected bibliography in the field of literature and society, covering the years 1956-1960.

Sanford, Charles L. *et al.* "Writings on the Theory and Teaching of American Studies," *American Quarterly*, XII, No. 2, Pt. 2 (Summer 1960), 305-309.

The third annual installment of an annotated bibliography with international coverage. It lists books and articles on the philosophy of American studies, courses and programs, subjects and methods of teaching, and bibliographical aids for the study of American civilization.

Van Nostrand, Albert D. "American Studies Dissertations in Progress," *American Quarterly*, XII, No. 2, Pt. 2 (Summer 1960), 295-304.

The fifth annual checklist of dissertations in progress at some twenty major colleges and universities in the United States.

Woodress, James *et al.* "American Literature: I. General," in Modern Language Association of America, *PMLA*, LXXV (May 1960), 241-243.

The fourth annual bibliography of periodical literature. It has international coverage and lists bibliographical aids and articles which have interdisciplinary emphasis.



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- ADAMS, RICHARD P. *English.* Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
- ADERMAN, RALPH M. *English.* Univ. of Wis., Milwaukee.
- AGEE, WARREN K. *Journalism.* 805 Chilton La., Wilmette, Ill.
- AHLDERS, CHARLES F. *English.* Adelphi Coll., Garden City, N. Y.
- AHNEBRINK, LARS. *American Literature.* Upsala Univ., Upsala, Sweden.
- AJWANI, L. H. Principal, D. & H. Nat'l. Coll., College Rd., Bombay, India.
- ALBRIGHT, PRESTON B. *History.* Miami Univ., Oxford, Ohio.
- ALEXIS, GERHARD T. *Humanities.* Gustavus Adolphus Coll., St. Peter, Minn.
- ALLEN, GAY WILSON. *English.* N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- ALLEN, JACK. *History.* George Peabody Coll., Nashville, Tenn.
- ALLEN, JOHN H. *Sociology.* Miss. Southern Coll., Hattiesburg.
- ALY, BOWER. *Speech.* Univ. of Ore., Eugene.
- AMACHER, RICHARD E. *English.* Auburn Univ., Auburn, Ala.
- AMERICAN CIVILIZATION GRADUATE CLUB. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- ANDERSON, CHARLES R. *English.* Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
- ANDERSON, JOHN Q. *English.* Tex. A. & M. Coll., College Station.
- ANDREWS, EUGENE R. Defiance Coll., Defiance, Ohio.
- ANDREWS, WAYNE. Ed., Trade Dept., Charles Scribner's Sons, 597 Fifth Ave., NYC.
- ANGELL, MRS. RUTH S. *English.* Tex. Christian Univ., Fort Worth.
- APPEL, JOHN J. Adult Education Dir., Jewish Community Center, 305 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md.
- APTHEKER, HERBERT. *History.* 32 Ludlam Pl., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- ARCILLA, REV. JOSE S., S. J. Woodstock Coll., Woodstock, Md.
- ARMS, GEORGE. *English.* Univ. of N. Mex., Albuquerque.
- ARMSTRONG, JANE. 381 Carey Ave., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
- ARORA, SATISH K. *Government.* Skidmore Coll., Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
- ASHCOM, B. B. *Spanish.* Wayne SU, Detroit, Mich.
- ASHMEAD, JOHN JR. *English.* Haverford Coll., Haverford, Pa.
- ASIKIN, RIEK. Whitney Hall 110, Univ. of Conn., Storrs.
- ASPIZ, HAROLD. *English.* Long Beach SC, Long Beach, Cal.
- AULT, NELSON *English.* SC of Wash., Pullman.
- AUSER, LT. COL. CORTLAND P. *English.* Air Force Acad., Colorado Springs, Colo.
- AUSTIN, JAMES C. *English.* 111 Ridgemont Rd., Collinsville, Ill.
- BACHRACH, SAMUEL, M.D. 44 West St., Worcester, Mass.
- BADGER, FRANK. *American Civilization.* Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.

- BAETZ HOLD, HOWARD. *English*. Butler Univ., Indianapolis, Ind.
- BAILEY, MRS. LOUISE S. *English*. 456 Kanawha Ave., Madison, W. Va.
- BAINBRIDGE, JOHN. 5 Normandy Rd., Bronxville, N. Y.
- BARD, JAMES R. *English*. Conn. Coll., New London.
- BAKER, DONALD G. *American Studies*. Skidmore Coll., Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
- BAKER, PAUL R. *Humanities*. Cal. Inst. of Tech., Pasadena.
- BALDWIN, DAVID. *English*. 14 Buxton La., Waltham, Mass.
- BALLARD, LOU E. Southeastern La. Coll., Hammond, La.
- BANKS, R. JEFF. 111 South 15th St., Corsicana, Tex.
- BARKER, CHARLES. *History*. Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
- BARKER, VIRGIL. *History of Art*. Univ. of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.
- BARTLETT, IRVING H. *Humanities*. Mass. Inst. of Tech., Cambridge.
- BARTON, HENRY W. *English*. Midwestern Univ., Wichita Falls, Tex.
- BASHORE, J. R. JR. *English*. Bowling Green SU, Bowling Green, Ohio.
- BASKERVILLE, BARNET. *Speech*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- BASKETT, SAM S. *English*. Mich. SU, E. Lansing.
- BASLER, ROY P. Dir., Reference Dept., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
- BAUM, S. V. 338 West 88th St., NYC.
- BAXTER, ANNETTE KAR. *American Studies*. Barnard Coll., NYC.
- BEALL, OTHO T. *English*. Univ. of Md., College Park.
- BEARD, EARL S. *History*. 1815 Colorado St., Manhattan, Kans.
- BEARD, JAMES F. JR. *English*. Clark Univ., Worcester, Mass.
- BEDFORD, MRS. GWENDOLYN M. General Motors Defense Systems Division, Santa Barbara, Cal.
- BEDFORD, RICHARD C. *English*. Mich. Coll. of Mining & Tech., Sault Ste. Marie.
- BENNETT, MRS. DORIS B. 3714 N. 16th St., Tacoma, Wash.
- BENSON, MARY S. *History*. Mt. Holyoke Coll., S. Hadley, Mass.
- BERG, WALTER. *Social Sciences*. Central Wash. Coll. of Educ., Ellensburg.
- BERGER, ARTHUR A. 1618 5th St., South, Minneapolis, Minn.
- BERINGAUSE, ARTHUR F. 20 Linn Ave., Yonkers, N. Y.
- BERNSTEIN, LEONARD H. 2801 N. 2nd St., Harrisburg, Pa.
- BERNSTEIN, MELVIN. *English*. Alfred Univ., Alfred, N. Y.
- BERRY, MILDRED F. *American Studies*. Rockford Coll., Rockford, Ill.
- BEST, WALLACE H. *Public Administration*. Univ. of Southern Cal., Los Angeles.
- BESTOR, ARTHUR E. JR. *History*. Univ. of Ill., Urbana.
- BETTS, JOHN R. *History*. Boston Coll., Chestnut Hill, Mass.
- BEZANSON, WALTER. *American Civilization*. Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick, N. J.
- BEZANSON, WARREN B. Technical Report Ed., Research Labs., United Aircraft Corp., East Hartford, Conn.
- BIER, JESSE. *English*. Mont. SU, Missoula.
- BIGGS, DONALD. Dir., Cal. Historical Soc., 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco.
- *BILLINGTON, RAY A. *History*. Northwest Univ., Evanston, Ill.
- BINGHAM, EDWIN R. *History*. Univ. of Ore., Eugene.
- BIRDSELL, RICHARD D. *History*. Conn. Coll., New London.
- BIRNBAUM, LUCILLE C. *History*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.
- BIRR, KENDALL A. *Social Studies*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Albany.
- BLACKBURN, CHARLES E. 1618 E. 80th, Seattle, Wash.
- BLACKMAN, EDWARD B. *American Thought & Language*. Mich. SU, E. Lansing.
- BLAIR, WALTER. *English*. Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- BLAKE, NELSON M. *History*. Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N. Y.
- BLASINGAME, LURTON W. 549 W. 123rd St., NYC.
- BLAU, JOSEPH. *Philosophy*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- BLOCH, E. MAURICE. *Art*. Univ. of Cal., Los Angeles.
- BLODGETT, HAROLD. *English*. Union Coll., Schenectady, N. Y.
- BLUESTONE, GEORGE. *English*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- BLUM, JOHN M. *History*. Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.

- BOATRIGHT, MODY C. *English*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- BODDY, MARGARET P. *English*. Winona STC, Winona, Minn.
- BODE, CARL. *English*. Univ. of Md., College Park.
- BOEWE, CHARLES. *English*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- BOHNER, CHARLES H. *English & American Studies*. Univ. of Del., Newark.
- BOLGER, STEPHEN G. *English*. Rosemont Coll., Rosemont, Pa.
- BOLLER, PAUL F. JR. *History*. Southern Methodist Univ., Dallas, Tex.
- BONE, ROBERT A. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Los Angeles.
- BONNER, THOMAS N. 5611 Western Ave., Omaha, Nebr.
- BOORSTIN, DANIEL J. *History*. Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- BOSE, BUDDHADEVA. 202 Rashbehari Ave., Calcutta, India.
- BOTTORFF, WILLIAM K. 260 (A) S. College Dr., Bowling Green, Ohio.
- BOUISE, OSCAR. *English*. Xavier Univ., New Orleans, La.
- BOWLES, ROBERT L. *History*. Boston Univ., Boston, Mass.
- BOWMAN, RICHARD G. *Comparative Literature*. The Cooper Union, NYC.
- BRADEN, WALDO W. *Speech*. La. SU, Baton Rouge.
- BRADLEY, E. SCULLEY. *English*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- BRADLEY, HAROLD. *History*. Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
- BRAGG, JEFFERSON D. *History*. Baylor Univ., Waco, Tex.
- BRANCH, EDGAR M. *English*. Miami Univ., Oxford, Ohio.
- BRANOM, CLARINE. 4436½ Highland, Beaumont, Tex.
- BRASWELL, WILLIAM. *English*. Purdue Univ., Lafayette, Ind.
- BRAUTIGAM, HERMAN. *Philosophy & Religion*. Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.
- BREADEN, DALE G. *History*. Morehead SC, Morehead, Ky.
- BREMNER, ROBERT H. *History*. Ohio SU, Columbus.
- BRESSLER, LEO A. *English*. Pa. SU, University Park.
- BREWER, MRS. HELENE M. *English*. Queens Coll., Flushing, N. Y.
- BRIDGMAN, DAVID G. *History*. Colby Coll., Waterville, Me.
- BRIDGMAN, RICHARD. Dartmouth Coll., Hanover, N. H.
- BRITTON, A. P. *Music Education*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- BRITTON, WRIGHT. *English*. Wagner Coll., Staten Island, N. Y.
- BRODERICK, JOHN C. *English*. Wake Forest Coll., Winston-Salem, N. C.
- BROOKS, GEORGE A. Eton Hall, Garth Rd., Scarsdale, N. Y.
- BROWN, ALBERTA F. Dean of Admissions, Pembroke Coll., Providence, R. I.
- BROWN, CLARENCE A. *English*. Marquette Univ., Milwaukee, Wis.
- BROWN, MAURICE F. *English*. 550 Charlesina Rd., Rochester, Mich.
- BROWN, RICHARD C. *Social Studies*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Buffalo.
- BROWN, STUART G. *American Studies*. Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N. Y.
- BROWNE, HENRY J. *History*. Cathedral Coll., NYC.
- BROWNE, RAY B. *English*. Purdue Univ., Lafayette, Ind.
- BRUNGER, ERIC. *History*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Buffalo.
- BU, HLA. 24 Newlyn Rd., Rangoon, Burma.
- BUCHANAN, LEWIS E. *English*. Wash. SU, Pullman.
- BUCKLAND, ROSCOE L. *English*. Long Beach SC, Long Beach, Cal.
- BUDD, LOUIS J. *English*. Duke Univ., Durham, N. C.
- BUEHLER, REGINALD G. *English*. Hamline Univ., St. Paul, Minn.
- BUITENHUIS, PETER. *English*. Victoria Coll., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
- BUNKER, ROBERT. *Philosophy & English*. N. Mex. Highlands Univ., Las Vegas.
- BURANELLI, VINCENT. 282 Mt. Lucas Rd., Princeton, N. J.
- BURBANK, LYMAN B. Dir. Teacher Training, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
- BURBANK, REX. *English*. San Jose SC, San Jose, Cal.
- BURKE, EDWARD K. 9138 Bartee, Arleta, Cal.
- BURKE, JOHN J. *English*. St. Joseph's Coll., Philadelphia, Pa.
- BURNHAM, JOHN C. Austen Riggs Center, Stockbridge, Mass.

- BURRINGTON, DAVID E. 2401 9th St., South, Minneapolis, Minn.
- BURT, NATHANIEL. 108 Mercer St., Princeton, N. J.
- BUTCHER, PHILIP. *English*. Morgan SC, Baltimore, Md.
- BUTLER, ALEXANDER R. *Humanities*. Mich. SU, E. Lansing.
- BYRD, JOHN C. Box 741, Galax, Va.
- BYRD, MILTON B. *English*. Southern Ill. Univ., Edwardsville.
- BYRNE, ARCHIBALD J. *English*. Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Ill.
- BYRON, JOHN E. Cornell Arms, Columbia, S. C.
- CADY, EDWIN H. *English*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- CALDWELL, JOHN. Cal. Lutheran Coll., Thousand Oaks.
- CALLAHAN, NORTH. *History*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- CALLISON, LOUISE. *English*. Alderson-Broaddus Coll., Philippi, W. Va.
- CALLOW, JAMES T. *English*. Univ. of Detroit, Detroit, Mich.
- CAMERON, KENNETH W. P. O. Box 1080, Hartford, Conn.
- CAMPBELL, HARRY M. *English*. Okla. SU, Stillwater.
- CAMPBELL, ROBERT F. Dean, Clark Coll., Worcester, Mass.
- CANTOR, MILTON. *History*. Williams Coll., Williamstown, Mass.
- CAPPON, LESTER J. Box 203, Williamsburg, Va.
- CARDWELL, GUY A. *English*. Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
- CARGILL, OSCAR. *English*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- CARMAN, J. NEALE. *Romance Languages*. Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence.
- CAROSSO, VINCENT P. *History*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- CARPENTER, FREDERIC I. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.
- CARROLL, MRS. ISABEL R. 2249B 38th St., Los Alamos, N. Mex.
- CARSON, JAMES W. *History*. Dickinson Coll., Carlisle, Pa.
- *CARSON, WILLIAM. *English*. Washington Univ. (Emeritus), St. Louis, Mo.
- CARTER, PAUL J. *English*. Univ. of Colo., Boulder.
- *CARTWRIGHT, LEVERING. Cartwright, Valleau & Co., Bd. of Trade Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
- CARY, OTIS. *History*. Doshisha Univ., Kyoto, Japan.
- CASS, WALTER J. *American Literature*. Bradford Durfee Coll. of Tech., Fall River, Mass.
- CAWELETTI, JOHN G. *Humanities*. Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- CHAMETZKY, JULES. 97 Meadow St., North Amherst, Mass.
- CHANG, HAIZ T. Y. 782 B. King's Rd., Flat 7, Gr./Fl., Hong Kong.
- CHAPMAN, PAUL H. *English*. Mt. Union Coll., Alliance, Ohio.
- CHAREONKUL, SOMDEE. Univ. of Southern Cal., Los Angeles.
- CHARLES, NORMAN. *American Literature*. Wesleyan Coll., Macon, Ga.
- CHARVAT, WILLIAM. *English*. Ohio SU, Columbus.
- CHASTAIN, JUDSON. Dean of Men, Wm. Carey Coll., Hattiesburg, Miss.
- CHILDS, HERBERT E. *English*. Oregon SU, Corvallis.
- CHING-HSI, CHAO. *Economics*. Coll. of Arts, Tunghai Univ., Taichung, Taiwan.
- CHISOLM, LAWRENCE W. *History*. Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
- CHMAJ, BETTY E. 1951 Pelham Rd., Dearborn, Mich.
- CHOKEY, R. D. "Beth Resoni," Irvine Rd., Poona, India.
- CHOW, BEATRICE T. W. 2215 Harcourt Drive., Cleveland, Ohio.
- CHRISTIAN, HENRY A. *American Civilization*. Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
- CHU, YEN-FENG. *History*. 1811 Chung Cheng Rd., Taipei, Taiwan.
- CHUTE, WILLIAM J. *History*. Queens Coll., Flushing, N. Y.
- CIERPIK, ANNE. 6341 N. Kedvale Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- CLARESON, THOMAS D. *English*. Coll. of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio.
- CLARK, EDWARD. *English*. Suffolk Univ., Boston, Mass.
- CLARK, HARRY H. *English*. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- CLARK, THOMAS D. *History*. Univ. of Ky., Lexington.
- CLARKE, MRS. EUNICE A. Kay Dr., South Haddonfield, N. J.
- CLARKE, MATTHEW. *Religion & Labor Fndn.*, 47 Lawton St., Springdale, Conn.
- CLEAVER, CHARLES G. Grinnell Coll., Grinnell, Iowa.

- CLENDENNING, JOHN. *English*. San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.
- CLOUGH, WILSON. *American Studies*. Univ. of Wyo., Laramie.
- COBB, ROBERT P. *English*. Univ. of Kans., Lawrence.
- COBERLY, JAMES H. *English*. George Washington Univ., Washington, D. C.
- COCHERAN, THOMAS. *History*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- CODDINGTON, EDWIN B. *History*. Lafayette Coll., Easton, Pa.
- COHEN, B. BERNARD. *English*. Univ. of Wichita, Wichita, Kans.
- *COHEN, HENNIG. *English*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- COHEN, MRS. ZIVAN. 232 Quackenbos Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- COLE, CHARLES C. *History*. Lafayette Coll., Easton, Pa.
- COLE, NORWOOD M. *Social Sciences*. Skagit Valley Coll., Mt. Vernon, Wash.
- COLEMAN, JOHN M. Ed., *Pa. History*, Easton, Pa.
- COLLINS, CARVEL. *English*. Mass. Inst. of Tech., Cambridge.
- COLWELL, JAMES. Univ. of Md., APO 403, NYC.
- CONNER, FREDERICK W. *English*. Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.
- COOK, DON L. *English*. Indiana Univ., Bloomington.
- COOK, REGINALD. *American Literature*. Middlebury Coll., Middlebury, Vt.
- COOKE, ROBERT J. Maxwell School, Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N. Y.
- COOKE, STUART T. Coll. Dept., Oxford Univ. Press, 417 Fifth Ave., NYC.
- COOPERMANN, HASYE. *Literature*. New School for Social Research, NYC.
- COPELAND, MARGARET E. *English*. Fairmont SC, Fairmont, W. Va.
- CORBITT, DUVON C. *Social Studies*. Asbury Coll., Wilmore, Ky.
- CORRIGAN, ROBERT A. *American Literature*. Goteborg Univ., Goteborg, Sweden.
- CORY, ARTHUR M. *English*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- COSTELLO, WILLIAM J. *English*. Chestnut Hill. Coll., Chestnut Hill, Pa.
- COURVOISIER, D. M. 130 W. Lancaster Blvd., Lancaster, Cal.
- COUSINS, ALBERT N. *American Studies*. Fenn Coll., Cleveland, Ohio.
- COVERLEY, CYRIL F. 620 Field St., Denver, Colo.
- COWAN, MRS. LOUISE S. *English*. Univ. of Dallas, Dallas, Tex.
- COYLE, WILLIAM. *English*. Wittenberg Univ., Springfield, Ohio.
- CRANE, FRED A. *History*. Bard Coll., Annandale, N. Y.
- CRAWFORD, BARTHOLOW. *English*. SU of Iowa, Iowa City.
- CRAWFORD, REX W. *Sociology*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- CRAWFORD, ROBERT G. *History*. Eastern Tenn. SC, Johnson City.
- CRAWFURD, ALLAN. Exec. Dir., Iran-American Soc., Isfahan, Iran.
- CREMIN, LAWRENCE. *Education*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- CRESWICK, H. R. Librarian, Cambridge Univ., Cambridge, England.
- CRITOPH, GERALD E. *American Studies*. Stetson Univ., DeLand, Fla.
- CRONIN, MORTON. *English*. Los Angeles SC, Los Angeles, Cal.
- CRONKITE, G. FERRIS. *English*. Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
- CROSS, ROBERT D. *History*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- CROUSHORE, JAMES H. *English*. Mary Washington Coll., Fredericksburg, Va.
- CROW, FRANK W. Rt. 2, Box 408, Stevens Pt., Wis.
- CUMMINGS, RICHARD O. *History*, Brooklyn Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- CUMMINGS, SHERWOOD. *English*. 2359 Woolsey, Berkeley, Cal.
- CUNLIFFE, MARCUS. *American Studies*. Univ. of Manchester, Manchester, England.
- CUNNINGHAM, CHARLES C. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.
- CUNNINGHAM, RAYMOND J. *History*. Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
- CURRENT-GARCIA, EUGENE. *English*. Auburn Univ., Auburn, Ala.
- CURTI, MERLE. *History*. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- CUSHING, HENRY B. *English*. Villanova Univ., Villanova, Pa.
- CZIRAKY, J. SANDOR. *History*. LaSalle Coll., Philadelphia, Pa.
- DAHL, CURTIS. *English*. Wheaton Coll., Norton, Mass.
- DAHL, GORDON J. *American Studies*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.

- DAILEY, HUDSON S. 2042 Mohawk St., Chicago, Ill.
- DAMERON, JOHN L. 4233 Drifting Rd., Knoxville, Tenn.
- DANELUZZI, BARBARA A. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- DANIEL, ROBERT L. *History*. Ohio Univ., Athens.
- DAPONTE, DURANT. *English*. Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville.
- DAROFF, ROBERT. 4216 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- DASTUR, A. J. *Civics & Politics*. Univ. of Bombay, Bombay, India.
- DATTE, A. *English*. Gauhati Univ., Jalikbari, Assam, India.
- *DAVIDSON, S. A. 1121 Myrtle St., Scranton, Pa.
- DAVIES, WALLACE. *History*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- DAVIS, ALLEN F. *History*. Univ. of Mo., Columbia.
- DAVIS, CARL B. 820 W. Bedell, Fort Worth, Tex.
- DAVIS, CURTIS C. 2-A Homewood Apts., Baltimore, Md.
- DAVIS, DAVID. *History*. Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
- DAVIS, HAROLD A. *History*. Bradford Junior Coll., Bradford, Mass.
- DAVIS, JOE LEE. *English*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- DAVIS, MRS. MARY H. Finch Coll., NYC.
- DAVIS, MERRELL R. *English*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- DAVIS, RICHARD B. *English*. Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville.
- DAVIS, ROBERT C. *Sociology*. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- DAVISON, KENNETH E. *Political Science*. Heidelberg Coll., Tiffin, Ohio.
- DAVISON, ROBERT. *History*. Hofstra Coll., Hempstead, N. Y.
- DEAN, HAROLD L. *English*. Marietta Coll., Marietta, Ohio.
- DECHEART, PETER. Box 648, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- DECKER, LESLIE. *History*. Univ. of Me., Orono.
- DE SANTIS, VINCENT. *History*. Univ. of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.
- DE SCHWEINITZ, GEORGE. *English*. West Tex. SC, Canyon.
- D'HARNONCOURT, RENE. Dir., Museum of Modern Art, 11 W. 53rd St., NYC.
- DICHHMANN, MARY E. *English*. Southwestern La. Univ., Lafayette.
- DICKASON, DAVID. *English*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- DICKINSON, LEON T. *English*. Univ. of Mo., Columbia.
- DICKSON, HAROLD E. *Architecture*. Pa. SU, University Park.
- DIETERICH, H. R. *American Studies*. Univ. of Wyo., Laramie.
- DITZION, SIDNEY. *History*. City Coll., NYC.
- DOLMETSCH, CARL R. *English*. Coll. of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.
- DONALDSON, MRS. CHRISTINE H. Clark Rd., Woodbridge, Conn.
- DOROUGH, C. DWIGHT. 5305 Nassau Rd., Houston, Tex.
- DORSON, RICHARD M. *Folklore*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- DOTY, MARGARET M. *English*. Macalester Coll., St. Paul, Minn.
- DOVE, GEORGE N. Dir., School of Arts and Sciences, Eastern Tenn. SC, Johnson City.
- DOWGRAY, JOHN. *History*. Univ. of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.
- DOWLING, JOSEPH A. *History & Government*. Lehigh Univ., Bethlehem, Pa.
- DOYLE, JOSEPH. Academic Dean, American International Coll., Springfield, Mass.
- DRAKE, DOROTHY. Librarian, Scripps Coll., Claremont, Cal.
- DRALLE, LEWIS A. *History*. Ark. STC, Conway.
- DRUCKER, BYRD. 2003 Ave. J., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- DUBERMAN, DAVID. 2304 N. 11th St., Arlington, Va.
- DUCE, LEONARD. Grad. School, Trinity Univ., San Antonio, Tex.
- DUCEY, CATHRYN A. *English*. R. I. Coll., Providence.
- DUDDEN, ARTHUR. *History*. Bryn Mawr Coll., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- DUGGER, HAROLD. *History*. Southeast Mo. SC, Cape Girardeau.
- DUNBAR, JOHN. *English*. Claremont Men's Coll., Claremont, Cal.
- DUNCAN, HUGH D. 1612 Sylvan Ct., Flossmoor, Ill.
- DUNHAM, HAROLD H. *History*. Univ. of Denver, Denver, Colo.
- DUPREE, A. HUNTER. *History*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.

- DURHAM, PHILIP. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Los Angeles.
- DUROCHER, AURELE A. *English*. Northern Mich. Coll., Marquette.
- DUSENBERY, ROBERT. *English*. Lewis and Clark Coll., Portland.
- DUUS, LOUISE. *American Studies*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- Dwyer, JOHN N. Gen'l. Mgr., Liturgical Press. St. Johns Univ., Collegeville, Minn.
- DYBVIC, PAUL S. 15 E. Mermaid La., Philadelphia, Pa.
- DYKES, ARTHUR O. 175 Dalehurst, San Antonio, Tex.
- EARNST, ERNEST. *English*. Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Pa.
- EASON, T. W. 7212 Waverly, Oklahoma City, Okla.
- *EATON, VINCENT. Publications Officer, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
- ECKSTEIN, NEIL. *American Civilization*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- EDEL, LEON. *English*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- EDGAR, MRS. MARGARET T. Ed., Nat'l. Bur. of Economic Res., Inc., NYC.
- EGBERT, DONALD D. *Art*. Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J.
- EHRLICH, GEORGE. *Art*. Univ. of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.
- EHRLICH, HEYWARD. *American Civilization*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- EICHLERBERGER, CLAYTON L. *English*. Arlington SC, Arlington, Tex.
- EIDSON, JOHN O. *English*. Univ. of Ga., Athens.
- EISENSTADT, A. S. *History*. Brooklyn Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- EKRICH, ARTHUR. *History*. American Univ., Washington, D. C.
- EKSTROM, WILLIAM F. *English*. Univ. of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
- ELIAS, ROBERT. *English*. Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y.
- ELLIASON, MARY. Campbell Coll., Buie's Creek, N. C.
- ELLEDGE, WAYMAN. 1220 W. 38th St., Kansas City, Mo.
- ELLIS, DAVID. *History*. Hamilton Coll., Clinton, N. Y.
- ELSON, RUTH M. 90 La Salle St., NYC.
- EMERSON, HORTON W. *Social Studies*. East Carolina Coll., Greenville, N. C.
- EMMONS, WINFRED S. *English*. Lamar SC of Tech., Beaumont, Tex.
- ENGEL, RALPH. 718 Broadway, Fargo, N. Dak.
- ERNEST, JOSEPH M. JR. *Dean*. Wm. Carey Coll., Hattiesburg, Miss.
- ESPEY, JOHN. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Los Angeles.
- EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION FOR AMERICAN STUDIES. Foundation des Etats-Unis, 15, Blvd. Jourdan, Paris, France.
- EVANOFF, ALEXANDER. *English*. Univ. of N. Mex., Albuquerque.
- EVERS, MARILYN L. 507 E. Daniel St., Champaign, Ill.
- FAGERSTROM, DALPHY I. *History & Political Science*. Bethel Coll., St. Paul, Minn.
- FAGIN, N. BRYLLION. *English*. Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
- FAIRFIELD, ROY P. *Government*. Ohio Univ., Athens.
- FAULK, ROBERT P. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Los Angeles.
- FANER, ROBERT D. *English*. Southern Ill. Univ., Carbondale.
- FARRAR, B. F. 2226 Laurel Ave., Knoxville, Tenn.
- FAVA, MRS. SYLVIA F. *Sociology*. Brooklyn Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- FAZL, MOHAMMAD A. Embassy of Pakistan, Rue De Lord Byron, Paris, France.
- FEIDLER, ERNEST R. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.
- FEID, F. J. 1611 Hearst Ave., Berkeley, Cal.
- FELHEIM, MARVIN. *English*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- FENNELLY, CATHERINE. Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Mass.
- FERM, ROBERT L. *Religion*. Pomona Coll., Claremont, Cal.
- FERTIG, WALTER. *English*. Wabash Coll., Crawfordsville, Ind.
- FIELD, JAMES. *History*. Swarthmore Coll., Swarthmore, Pa.
- FIESS, EDWARD. *English*. S. U. of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Oyster Bay, N. Y.
- FILIPIAK, JACK D. 2541 S. Howell Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.
- FIREBAUGH, JOSEPH. *English*. Flint Coll., Flint, Mich.
- FISCHER, LILLIAN. *English*. Brooklyn Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- FISHER, MARVIN. *English*. Ariz. SC, Tempe.

- FISHWICK, MARSHALL W. *American Studies*. Washington and Lee Univ., Lexington, Va.
- FITTON, H. NELSON JR. Information Specialist, Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.
- FITTON, MARY LOUISE. Library, Hanover Coll., Hanover, Ind.
- FLACCUS, W. KIMBALL. 15. S. Chester Rd., Swarthmore, Pa.
- FLANAGAN, JOHN T. *English*. Univ. of Ill., Urbana.
- FLEMING, E. McCLEUNG. Dean of Education, Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Del.
- FLICKINGER, B. FLOYD. *History*. Univ. Coll., Univ. of Md., College Park.
- FLINK, JAMES. *American Civilization*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- FLINT, ALLEN D. 1823 Talmadge, SE, Minneapolis, Minn.
- FLOAN, HOWARD R. *World Literature*. Manhattan Coll., NYC.
- FLOOD, VERLE D. *English*. Northern STC, Aberdeen, S. Dak.
- FOGEL, HOWARD. P. O. Box 64, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- FOIST, MILLARD F. 1228 Milan, S. Pasadena, Cal.
- FOLSOM, GORDON R. *English*. Carroll Coll., Waukesha, Wis.
- FONAROFF, BENJAMIN. 2026 Como Ave., SE, Minneapolis, Minn.
- FORMAN, JOHN A. *History*. Kent SU, Kent, Ohio.
- FORTENBERRY, GEORGE. *English*. Arlington SC, Arlington, Tex.
- FOSTER, CHARLES H. *English*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- FOSTER, EDWARD F. *English*. Univ. of Ky., Lexington.
- FOSTER, JOHN B. *English*. Mankato SC, Mankato, Minn.
- FOSTER, MICHAEL. 170 E. 95th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- FOWLER, AGNES. 24 Pasadena, Youngstown, Ohio.
- FOX, MRS. CLAIRE. Box 93, Glenside, Pa.
- FOX, WILLIAM L. *History*. Montgomery Junior Coll., Takoma Park, Md.
- FRAIBERG, LOUIS. 315 Cuddihy Dr., Metairie, La.
- FRANCISCO, RICHARD L. 12 Princeton Ave., Princeton, N. J.
- FRANKENSTEIN, ALFRED V. San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco, Cal.
- FRANKLIN, JOHN HOPE. *History*. Brooklyn Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- FRANTZ, JOE B. *History*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- FRENCH, WARREN G. *American Literature*. Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.
- FRYKMAN, GEORGE A. *History*. SC of Wash., Pullman.
- FU, CHONG-TE. *Foreign Languages & Literature*. Taiwan Provincial Cheng Kung Univ., Taipei, Taiwan.
- FUKUMA, KIN-ICHI. Fukuoka Joshi Daigaku, Fukuoka-shi, Japan.
- FULLER, ROBERT S. *Art*. Randolph Macon Woman's Coll., Lynchburg, Va.
- FUNT, DAVID. 66 Strathmore La., Rockville Center, N. Y.
- FUSSELL, EDWIN. *English*. Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, Cal.
- FUSSELL, IVA M. *English*. Mary Hardin-Baylor Coll., Belton, Tex.
- GABRIEL, RALPH H. 3896 Porter St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- GALE, ROBERT L. *English*. Univ. of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- GALINSKY, HANS K. *English*. Johannes Gutenberg Univ., Mainz, Germany.
- GALLAGHER, DOROTHY. 5201 Rockhill Rd., Kansas City, Mo.
- GALLAGHER, ROBERT S. 6 Manor Dr., Red Bank, N. J.
- GANUS, CLIFTON L. *American Studies*. Harding Coll., Searcy, Ark.
- GARA, LARRY. *History & Political Science*. Grove City Coll., Grove City, Pa.
- *GARDNER, JOHN. *English*. Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
- GAROFALO, MARIUS. Research, Cincinnati Public Schools, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- GARRETT, WENDELL D. The Adams Papers, Mass. Historical Soc., 1154 Boylston St., Boston.
- GARRISON, WINFRED E. Univ. of Houston, Houston, Tex.
- GARVAN, ANTHONY N. B. *American Civilization*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- GASPER, LOUIS. 2908 Wynwood La., Los Angeles, Cal.
- GASTON, EDWIN B. *English*. Stephen F. Austin SC, Nacogdoches, Tex.
- GATES, PAUL W. *History*. Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
- GAUS, JOHN M. *Government*. Prospect, N. Y.

- GAUSTAD, EDWIN S. *Philosophy*. Univ. of Redlands, Redlands, Cal.
- GEFFEN, ELIZABETH M. 128 E. Main St., Annville, Pa.
- GEIGER, LOUIS G. *History*. Colo. Coll., Colo. Springs.
- GERBER, JOHN. *English*. SU of Iowa, Iowa City.
- GERHARD, DIETRICH. *History*. Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
- GERSON, ELEANOR R. 18560 Parkland Dr., Shaker Heights, Ohio.
- GERSTENBERGER, DONNA. *English*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- GETTEL, WILLIAM D. *Music*. City Coll., NYC.
- GHEORGHIU, RAOUL. Arlington Towers, Arlington, Va.
- GIANAKOS, PERRY E. *Communications Skills*. Mich. SU, E. Lansing.
- GIBBONS, MRS. KATHRYN G. 515 Short St., New Orleans, La.
- GIBBONS, ROBERT F. 515 Short St., New Orleans, La.
- GIBSON, WILLIAM M. *English*. 343 Upper Montclair Ave., Upper Montclair, N. J.
- GILB, CORINNE. *History & Government*. Mills Coll., Oakland, Cal.
- GILBERT, DANIEL R. *History*. Moravian Coll., Bethlehem, Pa.
- GLAD, PAUL W. *History*. Coe Coll., Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
- GLAZIER, LYLE. *English*. Univ. of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y.
- GOIST, PARK D. *History*. Univ. of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
- GOLDSTEIN, SIDNEY. 1599 W. 10th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- GONZALES, JOHN E. *History*. Miss. Southern Coll., Hattiesburg.
- GOODRICH, LLOYD. Dir., Whitney Museum of American Art, 22 W. 54th St., NYC.
- GOODWIN, PAUL. 15 Draper St., Oswego, N. Y.
- GORMAN, THOMAS R. *English*. Loyola Univ., Chicago, Ill.
- GOULD, WARREN. Assoc. Dir. of Development, Lehigh Univ., Bethlehem, Pa.
- GRABO, NORMAN S. *English*. Mich. SU, E. Lansing.
- GRAF, LEROY P. *History*. Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville.
- GRAF, ROBERT. *History*. Purdue Univ., Lafayette, Ind.
- GRAGG, PERRY. *English*. San Antonio Coll., San Antonio, Tex.
- GRANTHAM, DEWEY W. JR. *History*. Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
- GRAUEL, GEORGE E. *English*. John Carroll Univ., Cleveland, Ohio.
- GRAY, PHILIP H. *English*. Scripps Coll., Claremont, Cal.
- GRAY, WOOD. *History*. George Washington Univ., Washington, D. C.
- GRAY, YOHMA. 12 William St., Jamestown, N. Y.
- GREBSTEIN, SHELDON. *English*. Univ. of Ky., Lexington.
- GREEN, CLAUD B. *English*. Clemson Coll., Clemson, S. C.
- GREEN, JUDITH C. 809 Clymer Pl., Madison, Wis.
- GREENE, PHILIP L. Adelphi Coll., Garden City, N. Y.
- *GREENE, THEODORE P. *History*. Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.
- GREER, C. KIRK. Dir. of Admissions, Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Pa.
- GREEVER, GARLAND. *English*. Univ. Southern Cal. (Emeritus), Los Angeles.
- GRIER, EDWARD F. *English*. Univ. of Kans., Lawrence.
- GRiffin, ROBERT J. 1013 S. W. 2nd Ave., Gainesville, Fla.
- GRiffin, WILLIAM J. *English*. George Peabody Coll., Nashville, Tenn.
- GRISCOM, ISOBEL. *English*. Univ. of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn.
- GRONEWOLD, BENJAMIN. *English*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Buffalo.
- GRUBAR, FRANCIS S. *Art*. Univ. of Md., College Park.
- GRUBER, CHRISTIAN. *Drama*. Harpur Coll., Binghamton, N. Y.
- GUHA, P. K. *English*. Jadavpur Univ., Calcutta, India.
- GUNDERSON, ROBERT G. *Speech & Theatre*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- GUTTMANN, ALLEN. *English*. Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.
- GUYOL, PHILIP N. Dir. N. H. Historical Soc., Concord.
- GUZE, HENRY. 299 Clinton Ave., Newark, N. J.
- HADLEY, EDITH J. *English*. Wiley Coll., Marshall, Tex.
- HAGE, GEORGE. *Journalism*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.

- HAGELMAN, CHARLES W. JR. 4085 Rothwell, Beaumont, Tex.
- HAGUE, JOHN A. *American Studies*. Stetson Univ., DeLand, Fla.
- HAISLEY, W. E. 437 Ridgefield Rd., Chapel Hill, N. C.
- HALIM, A. *History*. Univ. of Dacca, Dacca, E. Pakistan.
- HALL, HAROLD E. *English*. Nebraska Wesleyan Univ., Lincoln.
- HALL, JOHN P. 1748 Appomattox Rd., Lexington, Ky.
- HALSEY, VAN R. JR. *American Studies*. Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.
- HAN, CHARLES. 136 Curtin St., Medford, Mass.
- HANCE, KENNETH G. *Speech*. Mich. SU, E. Lansing.
- HANCOCK, JOHN L. *American Civilization*. Gavelvagen 5, Lidingo, Sweden.
- HAND, CLIFFORD J. *English*. Coll. of the Pacific, Stockton, Cal.
- HAND, WAYLAND D. *Folklore*. Univ. of Cal., Los Angeles.
- HANDLIN, OSCAR. *History*. Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
- HANDY, ROBERT T. *Church History*. Union Theological Seminary, NYC.
- HANEY, EDNA. *English*. Baylor Univ., Waco, Tex.
- HANSEN, CHADWICK. *English*. Pa. SU, University Park.
- HANSEN, ERIK ARNE. 25 Brondbyoster Torv, Hvidovre, Denmark.
- HANTKE, RICHARD W. *History*. Lake Forest Coll., Lake Forest, Ill.
- HARBAUGH, WILLIAM. *History*. Univ. of Conn., Storrs.
- HARKNESS, DONALD R. *Logic*. 10712 Carrollwood Dr., Tampa, Fla.
- HARLAN, LOUIS R. 3432 Telford St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
- HARPER, ROBERT D. *English*. Univ. of Omaha, Omaha, Nebr.
- HART, JAMES D. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Berkeley.
- HART, RICHARD H. *Education*. Pacific Univ., Forest Grove, Ore.
- HARTNETT, JAMES R. *History*. York Jr. Coll., York, Pa.
- HARTSTEIN, JACOB I. *Education*. Long Island Univ., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- HASCH, JACK J. *Commerce*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- HASSAN, IHAB H. *English*. Wesleyan Univ., Middletown, Conn.
- HASTINGS, ELIZABETH T. *English*. Western Reserve Univ., Cleveland, Ohio.
- HASTINGS, MARTIN F., S. J. *History*. St. Louis Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
- HATCHER, MILDRED. *English*. Murray SC, Murray, Ky.
- HATFIELD, SADIE. Box 143, Coll. Sta., Tex.
- HATHAWAY, RICHARD D. *Language & Literature*. Rensselaer Polytechnic Inst., Troy, N. Y.
- HAUPTMANN, JERZY. *Political Science*. Park Coll., Parkville, Mo.
- HAWES, RICHARD E. *English*. Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick, N. J.
- HAWKINS, HUGH D. *American Studies & History*. Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.
- HAWTHORNE, BRUCE C. *History*. Simmons Coll., Boston, Mass.
- HAYES, BARTLETT H. JR. Dir., Addison Gallery of American Art. Andover, Mass.
- HAYS, JOHN Q. *English*. Tex. A. & M. Coll., Coll. Sta., Tex.
- HAYS, SAMUEL P. *History*. Univ. of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- HAZARD, PATRICK D. *American Studies*. Univ. of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- HEALD, MORRELL. *History*. Case Inst. of Tech., Cleveland, Ohio.
- HEBERLE, RUDOLF. *Sociology*. La. SU, Baton Rouge.
- HEFFERNAN, MIRIAM M. *English*. Brooklyn Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- HEFLEY, J. T. *English*. Eastern Mich. Univ., Ypsilanti.
- HEINE, EMILY. Assoc. Ed., *Du Pont Magazine*, Wilmington, Del.
- HENDRICK, GEORGE. *American Studies*. Amerika Institut, J. W. Goethe Univ., Frankfurt/Main, Germany.
- HENDRICKSON, WALTER B. *History*. Mac-Murray Coll., Jacksonville, Ill.
- HENSON, CLYDE. *English*. Mich. SU, E. Lansing.
- HEPLER, JOHN C. *English*. Central Mich. Coll., Mt. Pleasant.
- HERBERG, WILL. *Social Philosophy*. Drew Univ., Madison, N. J.
- HERBST, JURGEN. *History*. Wesleyan Univ., Middletown, Conn.
- HERRESHOFF, DAVID. *English*. Wayne SU, Detroit, Mich.

- HERRNSTADT, RICHARD L. *English*. Iowa SU, Ames.
- HERRON, IMA H. *English*. Southern Methodist Univ., Dallas, Tex.
- HEYWOOD, C. W. *History*. Cornell Coll., Mt. Vernon, Iowa.
- HIEBERT, RAY E. *Communications*. American Univ., Washington, D. C.
- HIERTH, HARRISON E. *English*. Tex. A. & M. Coll., College Station.
- HIGGINS, JOHN E. *History & English*. 1011 Ellis Ave., Ashland, Wis.
- HIGHAM, JOHN. *History*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- HILBERRY, HARRY H. *Fine Arts*. 5215 N. Illinois St., Indianapolis, Ind.
- HILEN, ANDREW H. *English*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- HILLBRUNER, ANTHONY. *Language Arts*. Los Angeles SC, Los Angeles, Cal.
- HILTY, PETER D. Park Coll., Parkville, Mo.
- HINCHLIFFE, ARNOLD P. *English*. Univ. of Manchester, Manchester, England.
- HINDLE, BROOKE. *History*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- HINER, JAMES H. *American Studies*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- HINTZ, HOWARD. *Philosophy*. Brooklyn Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- HIRSCHFELD, CHARLES. *Humanities*. Mich. SU, E. Lansing.
- HISLOP, CODMAN. *American Civilization*. Union Coll., Schenectady, N. Y.
- HITCHCOCK, MRS. LAWRENCE. South Glen Rd., Rockville, Md.
- HOA, NGUYEN DINH. *Linguistics*. Univ. of Saigon, Saigon, Vietnam.
- HOAR, VICTOR M. JR. *English*. Elmira Coll., Elmira, N. Y.
- HOFFMAN, FREDERICK J. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Riverside.
- HOFSTADTER, RICHARD. *History*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- HOGAN, PATRICK G. JR. *English*. Miss. SU, State College.
- HOGAN, WILLIAM R. *History*. Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
- HOGLUND, A. WILLIAM. Spencer, N. Y.
- HOGLUND, D. P. 525 LeClaire Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- HOLLAND, LAURENCE B. *English*. Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J.
- HOLLAND, ROBERT B. *English*. Miss. SU, State College.
- HOLLINSHEAD, BYRON. Ed., College Dept., Oxford University Press, Inc., 417 Fifth Ave., NYC.
- HOLLIS, C. CARROLL. *English*. Univ. of Detroit, Detroit, Mich.
- HOLLIS, DANIEL W. *History*. Univ. of S. C., Columbia.
- HOLMAN, C. HUGH. *English*. Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill.
- HOLMES, CHARLES S. *English*. Pomona Coll., Claremont, Cal.
- HOLMES, IRA. 806 W. Pensacola St., Tallahassee, Fla.
- HOLY CROSS COLLEGE. Dinand Library, Worcester, Mass.
- HOMMA, NAGAYO. 189 Murei Mitaka, Tokyo, Japan.
- HOPKINS, JAMES F. *History*. Univ. of Ky., Lexington.
- HOPKINS, VIVIAN C. *English*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Albany.
- HORNGERGER, THEODORE. *English*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- HORNER, GEORGE F. *English*. Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill.
- HORSFORD, HOWARD C. *English*. Univ. of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
- HORTON, ROD W. American Embassy, Lisbon, Portugal.
- HOSTETLER, PAUL S. *Theatre*. Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
- HOUPT, WILLIAM P. *Social Studies*. Glassboro SC, Glassboro, N. J.
- HOUSE, ALBERT V. *History*. Harpur Coll., Binghamton, N. Y.
- HOVE, JOHN. *English*. N. Dak. Agricultural Coll., Fargo.
- HOWARD, JAMES K. *History*. Del Mar Coll., Corpus Christi, Tex.
- HOWARTH, HERBERT. *English*. Univ. of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.
- HOWLAND, RICHARD H. Pres., Nat'l. Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D. C.
- HSUEH, S. S. Univ. of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.
- HUBER, RICHARD M. *American Studies*, 39 Wilson Rd., Princeton, N. J.
- HUDNUT, DAVID. *English*. Ursinus Coll., Collegeville, Pa.
- HUDSON, WILSON. *English*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- HUE, NGUYEN THI. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.

- HUGER, GREGORY C., S. J. *History*. Rockhurst Coll., Kansas City, Mo.
- HUMPHREY, G. D. Pres., Univ. of Wyo., Laramie.
- HUNGERFORD, HARLAN M. *English*. Kent SU, Kent, Ohio.
- HUSAIN, ASAD. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- HUTCHINS, J. 1833 Summit Pl., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- HUTCHISON, WILLIAM. 5000 Park Pl., Washington, D. C.
- HYBELS, ROBERT J. *Social Studies*. Newton Junior Coll., Newtonville, Mass.
- HYDE, R. W. 2901 Belmont Blvd., Nashville, Tenn.
- IKEDA, MICHIIKO. Fletcher School, Tufts Univ., Medford, Mass.
- INOUE, KATOKO. Rt. #4, Mt. Pleasant, Mich.
- ISANI, MIKHTAR ALI. 162 Graduate Coll., Princeton, N. J.
- IVERSEN, ROBERT W. Center for Continuing Liberal Education, Pa. SU, University Park.
- IVES, C. P. Assoc. Ed., Baltimore Sun, Baltimore, Md.
- IWAYAMA, TAJIRO. Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City.
- IYENGAR, K. R. S. *English*. Andhra Univ., Waltair, S. India.
- JACKSON, BLYDEN. *English*. Southern Univ., Baton Rouge, La.
- JACKSON, ERNEST H. E 10209 Mission, Spokane, Wash.
- JACKSON, FREDERICK H. Exec. Assoc., Carnegie Corp., 589 Fifth Ave., NYC.
- JACKSON, KENNY. *American Civilization*. Tenn. A. & I. SU, Nashville.
- JACOBS, BRIANT S. Brigham Young Univ., Provo, Utah.
- JACOBS, ROBERT. *English*. Univ. of Ky., Lexington.
- JACOBS, WILBUR R. *History*. Univ. of Cal., Santa Barbara.
- JACOBY, JOSEPH M. 302 Carriage House La., Riverton, N. J.
- JANSON, H. W. *Fine Arts*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- JENKINS, JOSEPH. *English*. Va. SC, Petersburg.
- JENNINGS, FRANCIS P. 215 E. Johnson St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- JENSEN, DANA O. *Liberal Arts*. Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
- JOHANNSEN, ROBERT W. *History*. Univ. of Ill., Urbana.
- JOHNSON, DORIS. *English*. Southern Methodist Univ., Dallas, Tex.
- JOHNSON, MANLY. *English*. Univ. of Tulsa, Tulsa, Okla.
- JOHNSON, PAUL O. 19 Crawford Dr., Bath, Me.
- JOHNSON, PYKE JR. Editor-in-Chief, Doubleday Anchor Books, 575 Madison Ave., NYC.
- JOHNSON, TED. 380 W. 16th St., Chicago Hts., Ill.
- JOHNSON, THOMAS H. *English*. Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J.
- JOHNSTON, THOMAS. *English*. Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J.
- JONES, ALFRED H. 400 Riverside Rd., NYC.
- JONES, EUGENE W. *Social Science*. Wayland Baptist Coll., Plainview, Tex.
- JONES, HOWARD M. *English*. Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
- JONES, JOSEPH. *English*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- JORDY, WILLIAM H. *Art*. Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
- JOSSEY-BASS, ALLEN. *Director & Editor*, Univ. Publications Division, Hawthorn Books, 70 Fifth Ave., NYC.
- JOYAUX, GEORGES J. *French*. Mich. SU, E. Lansing.
- JUBANYIK, ANDREW. *American Civilization*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- JUDD, RICHARD M. *American Civilization*. Marlboro Coll., Marlboro, Vt.
- KAKUSHO, TADAO. Abilene Christian Coll., Abilene, Tex.
- KALLENBACH, JOSEPH. *Political Science*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- KANE, MRS. DONALD P. Macalester Coll., St. Paul, Minn.
- KAPLAN, CHARLES. *English*. San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.
- KAPLAN, LAWRENCE S. *History*. Kent SU, Kent, Ohio.
- KARIM, MUHAMMAD E. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- KAWAI, MICHIO. Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- KAZIN, ALFRED. 110 Riverside Dr., NYC.
- KEELER, CLINTON. *English*. Okla. SU, Stillwater.

- KEHOE, REV. JOSEPH A. *Social Science.* Univ. of Portland, Portland, Ore.
- KELLAR, JAMES R. *History.* S. Dak., SC, Brookings.
- KELVIN, NORMAN. *English.* City Coll., NYC.
- KEMBLE, JOHN H. *History.* Pomona Coll., Claremont, Cal.
- KEMPTON, ELMIRA. *Fine Arts.* Earlham Coll., Richmond, Ind.
- KENNEDY, ADELE. *English.* Monmouth Coll., Monmouth, Ill.
- KERN, ALEXANDER. *English.* SU of Iowa, Iowa City.
- KERR, ELIZABETH M. *English.* Univ. of Wis., Milwaukee.
- KETCHAM, RALPH L. *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin.* Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
- KHAN, RAIS A. 2333 Fulton St., Berkeley, Cal.
- KIM, CHAE KEUN. *American Studies.* Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
- KIM, HA TAI. Yonsei Univ., Seoul, Korea.
- KIM, WON-YONG. Curator, Research Dept., Nat'l Museum, Duksoo Palace, Seoul, Korea.
- KINCHELOE, H. G. *English.* N. C. SC, Raleigh.
- KING, C. HAROLD. Box 8274, Univ. of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.
- KINNE, WISNER P. *English.* Box 453, Tavernier, Fla.
- KISSANE, MRS. LEEDICE. *English.* Idaho SC, Pocatello.
- KLEIN, MICHAEL L. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- KLEINFELD, HERBERT L. *English.* Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Pa.
- KLITZKE, THEODORE. *Art.* Univ. of Ala., University.
- KLOTZ, MARVIN. *English.* San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.
- KLOUCEK, JEROME W. *English.* Univ. of Toledo, Toledo, Ohio.
- KNAPP, JOSEPH G., S. J. *American Studies.* Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- KNIGHTS, PAUL. *History.* Allegheny Coll., Meadville, Pa.
- KNOEPFLE, JOHN. 13 Rose Ave., Edwardsville, Ill.
- KNOLES, GEORGE H. *History.* Stanford Univ., Stanford, Cal.
- KNOX, GEORGE. *Humanities.* Univ. of Cal., Riverside.
- KNOX, ROBERT H. *English.* Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick, N. J.
- KOCH, DONALD. *English & Speech.* Simpson Coll., Indianola, Iowa.
- KOCH, ROBERT G. *General Education.* Rochester Inst. of Tech., Rochester, N. Y.
- KOENIG, MYRON L. Assoc. Dean, School of Foreign Affairs, Dept. of State, Washington, D. C.
- KOERNER, JAMES D. 565 Marrett Rd., Lexington, Mass.
- KOERNER, JOHN W. *Commerce & Finance.* Seattle Univ., Seattle, Wash.
- KOLB, WILLIAM L. *Sociology.* Carleton Coll., Northfield, Minn.
- KOLLEN, ARTHUR S. 26 E. Parkway, Scarsdale, N. Y.
- KONVITZ, MILTON R. *Law.* Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
- KOSAKA, MASAHIKO. *American Studies.* Kyoto Univ., Kyoto, Japan.
- KOSTER, DONALD N. *English.* Adelphi Coll., Garden City, N. Y.
- KOUWENHOVEN, JOHN A. *English.* Barnard Coll., NYC.
- KRAIRIKSH, VINITA. 136 Curtis St., Medford, Mass.
- KRAUS, MICHAEL. *History.* City Coll., NYC.
- KRUG, RICHARD E. Milwaukee Public Library, 814 W. Wisconsin Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.
- KRUTZKE, FRANK A. *English.* Colo. Coll., Colorado Springs.
- KUMMER, GEORGE. *English.* Western Reserve Univ., Cleveland, Ohio.
- KUNG-PEH, SHEN. *Liberal Arts.* National Taiwan Univ., Taipei, Taiwan.
- KURTZ, KENNETH. *English.* Occidental Coll., Los Angeles, Cal.
- KWIAT, JOSEPH J. *American Studies.* Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- LABOR, EARLE. Centenary Coll., Shreveport, La.
- LABUDDE, KENNETH. Dir., Libraries, Univ. of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.
- LACEBAL, ANACLETO. *Economics.* Univ. of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines.
- LALLY, PATRICK. Coll. of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn.
- LANDON, GEORGE C. 2030 Eye St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

- LANGSTON, BEACH. *Humanities*. Cal. Inst. of Tech., Pasadena.
- LANIER, STERLING. *English*. Boston Univ., Boston, Mass.
- LAPP, RUDOLPH. *Social Science*. Coll. of San Mateo, San Mateo, Cal.
- LARRABEE, ERIC. Managing Ed., *American Heritage*, 551 Fifth Ave., NYC.
- LARSON, ESTHER E. *English*. STC, E. Stroudsburg, Pa.
- LARSON, R. L. R. D. I., Box 199, Wheeling, W. Va.
- LARSON, T. A. Dir., School of American Studies, Univ. of Wyo., Laramie.
- LASER, MARVIN. *English*. Los Angeles SC, Los Angeles, Cal.
- LAVERTY, CARROLL D. *English*. Tex. A. & M. Coll., College Station.
- LEACH, NANCY. *American Studies*. Coll. for Women, Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- LEARY, LEWIS. *English*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- LECLAIR, ROBERT C. Principia Coll., Elsah, Ill.
- LECKY, ELEAZER. *English*. Univ. of Southern Cal., Los Angeles.
- LEE, EVERETT. *Sociology*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- LEE, GUNSAM. *English*. Dong Kook Univ., Seoul, Korea.
- LEE, HAROLD N. *Philosophy*. Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
- LEE, HUNG-YIN, 16-3, Lane 78, Lung Chuan St., Taipei, Taiwan.
- LEFEVRE, HELEN. 6331 W. Grace St., Chicago, Ill.
- LEIBY, JAMES. *History*. Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick, N. J.
- LEONARD, NEIL. *American Civilization*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- LEVENSON, J. C. *American Studies*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- LEVIN, DAVID. *History*. Stanford Univ., Stanford, Cal.
- LEVINE, STUART. *English*. Univ. of Kans., Lawrence.
- LEVITAS, IRVING. 5050 Oak St., Kansas City, Mo.
- LEVY, LEONARD W. Dean, Grad. School, Brandeis Univ., Waltham, Mass.
- LEWIS, ARTHUR O. JR. *English*. Pa. SU, University Park.
- LEWIS, MERRILL. *English*. Central Ore. Coll., Bend.
- LEIDEL, DONALD E. *History*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Albany.
- LIGHT, JAMES F. *English*. Ind. STC, Terre Haute.
- LILLARD, RICHARD G. Los Angeles City Coll., Los Angeles, Cal.
- LINEBARGER, DALE. 1234 S. 157th St., Seattle, Wash.
- LIPPMAN, MONROE. *Theatre & Speech*. Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
- LIU, C. H. *History*. National Taiwan Univ., Taipei, Taiwan.
- LOBO, EULALIA. *History*. Occidental Coll., Los Angeles, Cal.
- LOCHER, JACK. *English*. Gettysburg Coll., Gettysburg, Pa.
- LOGUE, J. M. Box 5904, N. T. Sta., Denton, Tex.
- LOKKE, VIRGIL L. *English*. Purdue Univ., Lafayette, Ind.
- LONG, E. HUDSON. *English*. Baylor Univ., Waco, Tex.
- LONGTIN, RAY C. *English*. Long Island Univ., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- LOPER, MRS. O. B. Box 402, 308 W. 7th St., Hattiesburg, Miss.
- LOWE, W. J. *Liberal Studies*. Clarkson Coll. of Tech., Potsdam, N. Y.
- LOWENS, IRVING. Music Critic, Washington, D. C., *Evening Star*.
- LOWENTHAL, DAVID. Res. Assoc., American Geographical Soc., Broadway & 156th St., NYC.
- LOWITT, RICHARD. *History*. Conn. Coll. for Women, New London.
- LUCE, ROBERT G. *English*. Wesleyan Univ., Middletown, Conn.
- LUDWIG, RICHARD M. *English*. Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J.
- LUEDERS, EDWARD. *English*. Hanover Coll., Hanover, Ind.
- LUHRS, HENRY E. Dir., Lincoln Library, Shippensburg, Pa.
- LUKE, MYRON H. *History*. Hofstra Coll., Hempstead, L. I., N. Y.
- LUNG, KWAN-HAI. *Law*. National Taiwan Univ., Taipei, Taiwan.
- LURIE, EDWARD. *History*. Wayne SU, Detroit, Mich.
- LUTZ, CAROLINE S. 5816 York Rd., Richmond, Va.
- LYDENBERG, JOHN. *English*. Hobart and William Smith Colls., Geneva, N. Y.
- *LYON, MELVIN E. *English*. Univ. of N. Dak., Grand Forks.

- LYONS, MRS. HELEN L. 4 Jackson St., Penacook, N. H.
- LYONS, RICHARD. *English*. N. Dak. Agricultural Coll., Fargo.
- McAVOY, REV. THOMAS T., C.S.C. *History*. Univ. of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.
- McBRIDE, SARAH E. 1214 S.E. 5th St., Minneapolis, Minn.
- McCARTHY, JOHN J. 4041 W. 56th Pl., Chicago, Ill.
- McCLARY, BEN H. P. O. Box 33, Benton, Tenn.
- McCLOSKEY, JOHN C. *English*. Univ. of Ore., Eugene.
- McCOLLEY, ROBERT. *History*. Univ. of Ill., Urbana.
- McCORMICK, EDGAR L. *English*. Kent SU, Kent, Ohio.
- McCRUM, BLANCHE P. 1035-22nd St., S., Arlington, Va.
- McCUTCHEON, JAMES. *History*. Univ. of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- McDAVID, RAVEN JR. *English*. Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- MCDERMOTT, JOHN FRANCIS. *English*. Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
- MCELDERRY, BRUCE. *English*. Univ. of Southern Cal., Los Angeles.
- MC EWEN, GILBERT D. *English*. Whittier Coll., Whittier, Cal.
- McGIFFERT, MICHAEL. *History*. Univ. of Denver, Denver, Colo.
- McGILL, ROBERT A. *English*. Skidmore Coll., Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
- McGRATH, EDWARD. *Citizenship*. Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N. Y.
- MCINTOSH, CLARENCE. *History*. Chico SC, Chico, Cal.
- McKEE, JOHN D. *Humanities*. N. Mex. Inst. of Mining & Tech., Socorro.
- McKEE, WILLIAM R. *English*. Univ. of St. Thomas, Houston, Tex.
- McKEITHAN, D. M. *English*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- MC LAUGHLIN, CHARLES C. *History*. Stanford Univ., Stanford, Cal.
- MCLEAN, ALBERT F. JR. *English*. Tufts Univ., Medford, Mass.
- MCLEAN, SYDNEY R. *English*. Mt. Holyoke Coll., S. Hadley, Mass.
- McMILLAN, EDWARD. *History*. Louisiana Coll., Pineville.
- McVAY, GEORGIANNE. *Language & Literature*. 4315 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- MAASS, JOHN. *Art*. Room 201, City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.
- MACDONALD, CURTIS C. *Social Sciences*. Colo. Woman's Coll., Denver.
- MACK, JAMES L. *Education*. D. C. Teachers Coll., Washington, D. C.
- MADEIRA, ALBERT P. *English*. Univ. of Mass., Amherst.
- MAGUIRE, MOTHER C.E. Newton Coll. of the Sacred Heart, Newton, Mass.
- MAIN, JACKSON T. *History*. San Jose SC, San Jose, Cal.
- MAJID, SANIA S. Circular Rd., Peshawar Cantt., West Pakistan.
- MAJOR, MABEL. *English*. Tex. Christian Univ., Fort Worth.
- MAKITA, T. Kanazawa Univ., Kanazawa, Japan.
- MAKOSKY, DONALD R. *English*. 8 Devlin Terr., Wilmington, Del.
- MALIN, JAMES C. 1541 Univ. Dr., Lawrence, Kans.
- MALIN, IRVING. *English*. City Coll., NYC.
- MANSFIELD, LUTHER S. *History*. Williams Coll., Williamstown, Mass.
- MARBURG, THEODORE F. Marquette Univ., Milwaukee, Wis.
- MARCELL, DAVID W. 651-A Prospect St., New Haven, Conn.
- MARCHAND, ERNEST. *English*. San Diego SC, San Diego, Cal.
- MARCKWARDT, ALBERT H. *English*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- MARCUS, JACOB R. Dir., American Jewish Archives, 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
- MARKS, BARRY. *English*. Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
- MARSH, JOHN L. P. O. Box 25, Edinboro, Pa.
- MARSHALL, HELEN E. *History & Social Science*. Ill. State Normal Univ., Normal.
- MARSHALL, THOMAS F. *English*. Kent SU, Kent, Ohio.
- MARSTON, DONALD F. 617 Hillcrest Dr., Monticello, Iowa.
- MARTIN, TERENCE. *English*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- MARTINSON, FLOYD M. *Sociology*. Gustavus Adolphus Coll., St. Peter, Minn.
- MARX, LEO. *American Studies*. Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.
- MASUI, MICHIO. *English*. Hiroshima Univ., Hiroshima, Japan.

- MATSUMOTO, SHIGEHARU. Japanese Assoc. for American Studies, International House, Tokyo, Japan.
- MATTIS, NORMAN W. 208 Hillsboro St., Chapel Hill, N. C.
- MAURER, DAVID W. English. Univ. of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
- MAURER, MAURER. *Military History*. Air Univ., Montgomery, Ala.
- MEAD, C. D. English. Mich. SU, E. Lansing.
- MEIER, AUGUST. History. Morgan SC, Baltimore, Md.
- MEIER, HUGO A. History. Carnegie Inst. of Tech., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- MEISTER, CHARLES W. English. Ariz. SC, Flagstaff.
- MELDER, KEITH. *Humanities*. Case Inst. of Tech., Cleveland, Ohio.
- MENKE, WAYNE. 2131-A Folwell St., St. Paul, Minn.
- MERIWETHER, JAMES. English. Box 388, Columbia, S. C.
- MESEROLE, HARRISON T. English. Pa. SU, University Park.
- METZ, WILLIAM D. *History & Political Science*. Univ. of R. I., Kingston.
- MEYER, FRANK S. Ohayo Mountain, Woodstock, N. Y.
- MEYER, KENNETH J. English. 1010 5th Ave., SE, Minneapolis, Minn.
- MEYER, ROY W. English. Mankato SC, Mankato, Minn.
- MEZVINSKY, NORTON. History. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- MIDDLEBROOK, SAMUEL. English. City Coll., NYC.
- MILES, EDWIN A. History. Univ. of Houston, Houston, Tex.
- MILES, RICHARD D. History. Wayne SU, Detroit, Mich.
- MILES, WYNNDHAM D. National Archives & Records Service, Gen. Services Admin., Washington, D. C.
- MILLER, CHARLES T. English. SU of Iowa, Iowa City.
- MILLER, F. DEWOLFE. English. Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville.
- MILLER, JAMES E. JR. English. Univ. of Nebr., Lincoln.
- MILLER, RALPH N. English. Western Mich. Univ., Kalamazoo.
- MILLER, RICHARD F. *Language & Literature*. Eastern Wash. Coll. of Educ., Cheney.
- MILLER, RUSSELL E. History. Tufts Univ., Medford, Mass.
- MILLER, SUSAN D., Univ. of Del., Newark.
- MILLS, GORDON. English. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- MILTON, JOHN R. English. Univ. of Denver, Denver, Colo.
- MINER, DWIGHT C. History. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- MINER, LOUIE M. 81 Columbia Hgts., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- MINER, THELMA S. English. Youngstown Univ., Youngstown, Ohio.
- MINER, WARD L. English. Youngstown Univ., Youngstown, Ohio.
- MINGER, RALPH E. History. San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.
- MISRA, K. P. Daliganj Station, Lucknow, India.
- MITCHELL, PHYLLIS H. *American Civilization*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- MITCHELL, ROWLAND. Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Ave., NYC.
- MIXATA, MITSUO. Sergeant Hall, Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- MONDALE, CLARENCE. *American Studies*. Univ. of Ala., University.
- MONTGOMERY, CHARLES. Dir., Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Del.
- MOON-LING, WONG. Kow Wah New Village, Lai Chi Kok, Kowloon, Hong Kong.
- MOORE, NORMAN C. Dean of Students, Wabash Coll., Crawfordsville, Ind.
- MOORE, RAYBURN S. English. Univ. of Ga., Athens.
- MORALES, ALFREDO T. Dean, Grad. Coll. of Educ., Univ. of Philippines, Quezon City.
- MOREHOUSE, LUCILLE. 1921 Kalorama Rd., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- MORRISON, MARCIA. *Communications*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- MOSES, ERNEST P. Valparaiso Univ., Valparaiso, Ind.
- MOST, RALPH C. English. Drexel Inst. of Tech., Philadelphia, Pa.
- MOYNE, ERNEST J. English. Univ. of Del., Newark.
- MUGRIDGE, DONALD H. Gen. Ref. & Bib. Div., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
- MUHS, FREDERICK. 529 E. Mason St., Milwaukee, Wis.
- MULDER, WILLIAM. English. Univ. of Utah, Salt Lake City.
- MULLER, DOROTHEA. History. C. W. Post Coll., Oyster Bay, N. Y.

- MUNROE, JOHN A. *History*. Univ. of Del., Newark.
- MURDOCK, KENNETH B. *English*. Villa I Tatti, Via Di Vincigliata, Florence, Italy.
- MURPHEY, MURRAY. *American Civilization*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- MURRAY, ALEX. *History*. Univ. of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.
- MURRAY, BYRON D. Moorhead SC, Moorhead, Minn.
- MURRAY, JAMES. *English*. Tyler Junior Coll., Tyler, Tex.
- MUSE, RAYMOND. *History*. Wash. SU, Pullman.
- MUSICHAI, CHAT. Univ. of Southern Cal., Los Angeles.
- MUSTE, JOHN M. *English*. Ohio SU, Columbus.
- MYERS, ANDREW B. *American Studies & English*. Fordham Univ., NYC.
- NAGEL, PAUL C. *History*. Eastern Ky. SC, Richmond, Ky.
- NAIK, B. M. *English*. Bhavan's Coll., Chaupatty, Bombay, India.
- NAIR, M. G. S. *English*. Univ. Coll., Kerala, S. India.
- NAKAGAWA, FUMIO. Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.
- NAKAMURA, JUNICHI. Kobe Coll., Nishinomiya City, Japan.
- NANCE, JOSEPH M. *History & Government*. Tex. A. & M. Coll., College Station.
- NASH, LEE M. *History*. Cascade Coll., Portland, Ore.
- NASH, R. W. *Sociology*. Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
- NEIDERBACH, SHELLEY. 691 Van Siclen Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- NEIDLE, MRS. CECYLE S. 145 Hicks St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- NEWBOLD, CATHERINE. *History*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Albany.
- NICHOLL, GRIER. *American Studies*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- NICHOLS, MRS. JEANNETT P. *History*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- NICHOLS, ROY F. *History*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- NILSEN, THOMAS R. *Speech*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- NING, C. *English*. Taiwan Normal Univ., East Ho Ping Rd., Taipei, Taiwan.
- NINOMIYA, KAZUJI. 247-5 Sekiya-Hamamat-sucho, Niigata, Japan.
- NINOMIYA, TAKAMICHI. Bowdoin Coll., Brunswick, Me.
- NOBLE, RANSOM E. JR. *History*. Pratt Inst. Brooklyn, N. Y.
- NOBLE, RONALD F. 26 Wood St., Natrona, Pa.
- NOGAMI, YASUKO. Dawes House, Smith Coll., Northampton, Mass.
- NOLAN, PAUL T. *English*. Univ. of Southwestern La., Lafayette.
- NYE, RUSSEL B. *English*. Mich. SU, E. Lansing.
- NYUNT, U MYO. 1414 E. 59th St., Chicago, Ill.
- OBERHOLZER, EMIL, JR. *Social Studies*. City Coll., NYC.
- O'BRIEN, KENNETH B. JR. *History*. Box 43, Poolville, N. Y.
- OCHS, ROBERT D. *History*. Univ. of S. C., Columbia.
- O'DONNELL, WILLIAM G. *English*. Univ. of Mass., Amherst.
- OLIPHANT, J. ORIN. *History*. Bucknell Univ., Lewisburg, Pa.
- OLIVA, LEO E. 2501 S. Williams St., Denver, Colo.
- OLIVER, ECBERT S. Portland SC, Portland, Ore.
- OLMSTED, ROSALIND A. Girls' Faculty. Kent School, Kent, Conn.
- OLSON, FREDERICK. *History*. Univ. of Wis., Milwaukee.
- OLSON, WARREN E. *Philosophy*. Chico SC, Chico, Cal.
- ORDONEZ, ELMER A. 109-L Eagle Hgts., Madison, Wis.
- ORIYA, HAJIME. 1-42 Kanamecho, Toshimaku, Tokyo, Japan.
- OSBORN, SCOTT C. *English*. Miss. SU, State College.
- OSBORNE, MARY TOM. *English*. San Antonio Coll., San Antonio, Tex.
- OSBORNE, WILLIAM S. 23 Surrey Dr., Wallingford, Conn.
- PAGE, JOHN F. *History*. Suffield Academy, Suffield, Conn.
- PALLETTE, DREW. *English*. Univ. of Southern Cal., Los Angeles.
- PALMER, EDWARD E. *Citizenship*. Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N. Y.
- PANDIT, S. 22 Karan Nagar, Srinagar, Kashmir, India.

- PANNELL, MRS. ANNE G. Sweet Briar Coll., Sweet Briar, Va.
- PAREDES, AMERICO. *English*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- PARGELLIS, STANLEY. Librarian, The Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
- PARENTE, ARTHUR C. 5000 Florence Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
- PARK, MARY CATHERINE. *English*. 450 Norwood St., Merritt Island, Fla.
- PARKES, HENRY B. *History*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- PARKS, EDD W. *English*. Univ. of Ga., Athens.
- PARTIN, ROBERT. *History*. Auburn Univ., Auburn, Ala.
- PASTORE, NICHOLAS. *Psychology*. Queens Coll., Flushing, N. Y.
- PATRICK, W. R. *English*. Auburn Univ., Auburn, Ala.
- PAYNE, ALMA J. *English*. Bowling Green SU, Bowling Green, Ohio.
- PEARCE, BESSIE M. 603 Weizmann, San Antonio, Tex.
- PEARCE, MRS. ERIKA M. Z. 54 Mayflower Way, Farnham Common, Bucks, England.
- PEARCE, RICHARD. *English*. Alfred Univ., Alfred, N. Y.
- PEARCE, ROY H. *English*. Ohio SU, Columbus, Ohio.
- *PEARSON, NORMAN HOLMES. *American Studies*. Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
- PEASE, OTIS A. *History*. Stanford Univ., Stanford, Cal.
- PEASE, WILLIAM H. *History*. International People's Coll., Helsingør, Denmark.
- PEAVEY, MRS. MARGARET C. *Art*. San Antonio Coll., San Antonio, Tex.
- PEBWORTH, TED-LARRY. Box 359, Coll. Sta., Hammond, La.
- PEEK, GEORGE A. JR. *Political Science*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- PENNYBACKER, RUTH. Univ. of Houston, Houston, Tex.
- PENROD, JAMES H. *English*. Eastern N. M^K. Univ., Portales.
- PENROD, JOHN A. *English*. Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.
- PERSONS, STOW. *History*. SU of Iowa, Iowa City.
- PETERSON, MERRILL D. *History*. Brandeis Univ., Waltham, Mass.
- PETERSON, WALTER F. *History*. Milwaukee-Downer Coll., Milwaukee, Wis.
- PETTENGILL, SAMUEL B. Dir., American Studies Program, Coe Foundation, Grafton, Vt.
- PETTIT, NORMAN. 329 Willow St., New Haven, Conn.
- PFEIFFER, DAVID G. 911 W. 29th St., Austin, Tex.
- PFLUG, RAYMOND J. *English*. Coll. of San Mateo, San Mateo, Cal.
- PFISTER, ALLAN O. *Higher Education*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- PHILLIPS, ANNE R. *English*. Univ. of Houston, Houston, Tex.
- PHILLIPS, ELIZABETH C. *English*. Memphis SU, Memphis, Tenn.
- PHILLIPS, WILLIAM L. *English*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- PHIPPS, FRANK. *English*. Univ. of Akron, Akron, Ohio.
- PICKARD, JOHN B. Rice Univ., Houston, Tex.
- PICKETT, CALDER M. *Journalism*. Univ. of Kans., Lawrence.
- PIERCY, JOSEPHINE K. *English*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- PIERSON, GEORGE W. *History*. Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
- PILKINGTON, JOHN JR. *English*. Univ. of Miss., University.
- PIPER, HENRY DAN. *Humanities*. Cal. Inst. of Tech., Pasadena.
- PIZER, DONALD. *English*. Newcomb Coll., Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
- PLATT, VIRGINIA B. *History*. Bowling Green SU, Bowling Green, Ohio.
- PLIMOTH PLANTATION, Box 1620, Plymouth, Mass.
- POKORNY, WAYNE D. 3121 N. 77th Ave., Elmwood Park, Ill.
- POLLAK, JOHN C. 611 9th Ave., SE, Minneapolis, Minn.
- POMERANTZ, SIDNEY I. *History*. City Coll., NYC.
- POMEROY, EARL. *History*. Univ. of Ore., Eugene.
- POTTER, DAVID. *Speech*. Southern Ill. Univ., Carbondale.
- POTTER, DAVID M. *History*. Stanford Univ., Stanford, Cal.
- POTTER, HUGH M., III. 139 Cecil St., Minneapolis, Minn.
- POTTS, DAVID B. 254 Windemere Ave., Bridgeport, Conn.
- *PRATT, DALLAS. 222 E. 49th St., NYC.

- PRESSLY, THOMAS J. *History*. Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- PRICE, ROBERT. *English*. Otterbein Coll., Westerville, Ohio.
- PRIOR, HARRY K. American Federation of Arts, 1083 5th Ave., NYC.
- PROBST, GEORGE E. *General Education*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- PROCARIO, SAVERIOS. University Publishers, Inc., 59 E. 54th St., NYC.
- PUGH, GRIFFITH T. *English*. Fla. SU, Tallahassee.
- PURCELL, JAMES S. *English*. Davidson Coll., Davidson, N. C.
- QUALLS, J. WINFIELD. 122 Goodwin Pl., Memphis, Tenn.
- QUARTERMAIN, PETER A. *English*. Mills Coll., Oakland, Cal.
- QUINT, HOWARD H. *History*. Univ. of Mass., Amherst.
- *RADOCK, MICHAEL. Manager, Educational Affairs, Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Mich.
- RAEMSch, BRUCE E. *Science*. Pa. Military Coll, Chester.
- RANDALL, JOHN H., III. 224 Newtonville Ave., Newton, Mass.
- RANDEL, WILLIAM. *English*. Fla. SU, Tallahassee.
- RANDLE, WILLIAM. 11820 Edgewater, Cleveland, Ohio.
- RANSOM, ELLENE. *English*. Miss. SC for Women, Columbus.
- RAO, K. S. NARAYANA. SU of NY, Coll. for Teachers, Albany.
- RATHBUN, JOHN W. *English*. Los Angeles SC, Los Angeles, Cal.
- RATNER, LORMAN. 3006 Old Yorktown Rd., Yorktown Hts., N. Y.
- RAUCH, BASIL. *History*. Barnard Coll., Columbia Univ., NYC.
- RAVITZ, A. C. *English*. Hiram Coll., Hiram, Ohio.
- READ, ALLEN W. *English*. Columbia Univ., NYC.
- RECORD, C. WILSON. *Sociology*, Sacramento SC, Sacramento, Cal.
- REED, JOHN H. *History*. Ohio Wesleyan Univ., Delaware, Ohio.
- REED, JOHN J. *History*. Muhlenberg Coll., Allentown, Pa.
- REED, JOHN Q. *English*. Kans. SC, Pittsburgh.
- REEVES, JOHN. *English*. Skidmore Coll., Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
- REEVES, PASCHAL. *English*. Fla. Southern Coll., Lakeland.
- REID, ALFRED S. *English*. Furman Univ., Greenville, S. C.
- REIDA, MRS. BERNICE L. Lake View, Iowa.
- REIN, DAVID. *English*. Case Inst. of Tech., Cleveland, Ohio.
- RENshaw, PATRICK. 1725 Orrington Ave., Evanston, Ill.
- RICCIO, ROBERT. *Humanities*. Univ. of Puerto Rico, Mayaguez, Puerto Rico.
- *RICHARDSON, EDGAR P. Dir., Detroit Inst. of Arts, Detroit, Mich.
- RICHARDSON, LYON N. *English*. Western Reserve Univ., Cleveland, Ohio.
- RICHARDSON, ROBERT. 7 Grant St., Cambridge, Mass.
- RICHWINE, KEITH N. 234 S. 44th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- RICKELS, MILTON. *English*. Univ. of Southwestern La., Lafayette.
- RICKELS, MRS. PATRICIA. *English*. Univ. of Southwestern La., Lafayette.
- RICKETTS, MARY E. 13 W. Chestnut Ave., Merchantville, N. J.
- RIDDLE, DONALD H. 68 Deerpath, Princeton, N. J.
- RIDENOUR, HARRY. *English*. Baldwin-Wallace Coll. (Emeritus), Berea, Ohio.
- RIDEOUT, WALTER. *English*. Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Ill.
- RIESMAN, DAVID. *Social Relations*. Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
- RIGA, FRANK P. 27 Doore St., Buffalo, N. Y.
- RILEY, WILLIAM A. *Citizenship*. 2858 Kahawai St., Honolulu, Hawaii.
- RINGE, DONALD. *English*. Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor.
- RINGER, GERALD J. 1604 Milton St., Tallahassee, Fla.
- RISCHIN, MOSES. 5 Brewer St., Cambridge, Mass.
- RITZMAN, DEAN F. *History*. Upsala Coll., E. Orange, N. J.
- ROBBINS, J. ALBERT. *English*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- ROBERTS, WARREN JR. *Political Science*. Newcomb Coll., Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
- ROBERTSON, HENRY M. Basic Coll., Univ. of South Fla., Tampa.
- ROBERTSON, THOMAS L. JR. 724 W. 7th St., Anderson, Ind.
- ROBINSON, E. ARTHUR. *English*. Univ. of R. I., Kingston.

- ROBINSON, ELIZABETH I. 104 Ruhamah Ave., Syracuse, N. Y.
- ROBINSON, FRANCIS. English. Univ. of Colo., Boulder.
- ROBINSON, GEORGE W. Social Science. Eastern Ky. SC, Richmond.
- ROCHE, JOHN P. Political Science. Brandeis Univ. Waltham, Mass.
- ROCHE, RICHARD H. Case Inst. of Tech., Cleveland, Ohio.
- ROCK, VIRGINIA. Communication Skills. Mich. SU, E. Lansing.
- ROCKWELL, KENNETH. Box 2839 Duke Hospital, Durham, N. C.
- RODMAN, MRS. KATHERINE P. 3182 Pawtucket Ave., Riverside, R. I.
- ROELOFS, VERNON W. History. Lawrence Coll., Appleton, Wis.
- ROGERS, BEN. Univ. of Jacksonville, Jacksonville, Fla.
- ROGERS, W. B. Social Studies. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Cortland.
- ROGGE, EDWARD. Theatre & Speech. Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
- ROLAND, ALBERT. Ed., *America Illustrated*, USIA, Washington, D. C.
- ROLLE, ANDREW F. 3109 Palmer Dr., Los Angeles, Cal.
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- ROONEY, WILLIAM E. 1910 Pelopidas St., New Orleans, La.
- ROPSEN, GEORG. English. Engelsk Institutt, Allegaten 55B, Bergen, Norway.
- ROPOLO, JOSEPH. English. Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La.
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- ROSSITER, CLINTON. Government. Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
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- ROZWENG, EDWIN C. History. Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.
- RUBIN, JOSEPH J. English. Pa. SU, University Park.
- RUBIN, LOUIS D. JR. English. Hollins Coll., Hollins, Va.
- RUCHAMES, LOUIS. 219 Elm St., Northampton, Mass.
- RUDOLPH, FREDERICK. History. 159 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass.
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- RULE, HENRY B. English. Lamar SC of Tech., Beaumont, Tex.
- RUNDELL, WALTER JR. History. Tex. Woman's Univ., Denton.
- RUSSELL, TRUSTEN W. Exec. Assoc., Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, Washington, D. C.
- RUTLEDGE, ANNA WELLS. Art History. 44 S. Battery, Charleston, S. C.
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- SADLER, DAVID. English. Western Mich. Univ., Kalamazoo.
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- SANDEEN, ERNEST. English. Univ. of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.
- SANDERS, DAVID S. Humanities. Harvey Mudd Coll., Claremont, Cal.
- SANFORD, CHARLES L. Language & Literature. Rensselaer Polytechnic Inst., Troy, N. Y.
- SATHYAMURTHY, T. V. Univ. of Ill., Champaign.
- SAUNDERS, HAROLD H. 312 W. Allens La., Philadelphia, Pa.
- SAVETH, EDWARD N. American Studies. New School for Social Research, NYC.
- SAWYER, JOHN E. Economics. Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.

- SAYOC-ORDONEZ, MRS. ELENITA. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- SCANLON, LAWRENCE E. *English*. Mt. Holyoke Coll., S. Hadley, Mass.
- SCHIFFMAN, JOSEPH. *English*. Dickinson Coll., Carlisle, Pa.
- SCHLABACH, ANNE V. *Philosophy*. Bennington Coll., Bennington, Vt.
- SCHLEGEI, RICHARD A. *American Civilization*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- SCHLESINGER, ARTHUR JR. *History*. Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.
- SCHMIDT, DOLORES B. *English*. State Teachers Coll., Mayville, N. Dak.
- SCHMUNK, PAUL L. *Social Science*. Wis. SC, Whitewater.
- SCHULD, FRED N. JR. 1572 Bradford Dr., Northfield, Ohio.
- SCHUTZ, JOHN A. *History & Political Science*. Whittier Coll., Whittier, Cal.
- SCHWARTZ, JOSEPH. *English*. Marquette Univ., Milwaukee, Wis.
- SCHWARZ, HERBERT JR. 435 E. 57th St., NYC.
- SCHWENK, NORMAN G. *English*. Univ. of Upsala, Upsala, Sweden.
- SCOTT, ARTHUR L. *English*. Univ. of Ill. Urbana.
- SCOTT, FLORENCE R. *English*. Univ. of Southern Cal. (Emeritus), Los Angeles.
- SCUDER, TOWNSEND, III. Puckshire Farm, Woodbury, Conn.
- SEALTS, MERTON M. *English*. Lawrence Coll., Appleton, Wis.
- SEARS, DONALD A. *English*. Upsala Coll., E. Orange, N. J.
- SEARS, IRWIN. 7 Harwood Ave., White Plains, N. Y.
- SEARS, LOUIS M. 2121 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- SEATON, MRS. DANIEL. *English*. Spelman Coll., Atlanta, Ga.
- SEELYE, JOHN D. *English*. 1341 Campus St., Berkeley, Cal.
- SEITSINGER, ANITA S. Rose Hill, Iowa.
- SHA, HSUEH-CHUEN. Hs 3, Alley 18, Lane 16, Wenchow St., Taipei, Taiwan.
- SHAFIQ, RUQAYYA. 315 L. St., Salt Lake City, Utah.
- SHAIN, CHARLES E. *English*. Carleton Coll., Northfield, Minn.
- SHANNON, REV. JAMES P. Pres., Coll. of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn.
- SHAPIRA, NATHAN H. Center for Advanced Studies, Wesleyan Univ., Middletown, Conn.
- SHARMA, VED P. *English*. Mont. SU, Missoula.
- SHEEHAN, DONALD. *History*. Smith Coll., Northampton, Mass.
- SHIELD, GEORGE W. H. 1537 W. 46th St., Los Angeles, Cal.
- SHIPLEY, FREDERICK C. City Coll., NYC.
- SHIPLEY, HELEN B. 1309 Broad St., Grinnell, Iowa.
- SHOCKLEY, MARTIN S. *English*. N. Tex. SC, Denton.
- SHOEMAKER, ROBERT W. *History*. North Central Coll., Naperville, Ill.
- SHRELL, DARWIN H. *English*. La. SU, Baton Rouge.
- SHRYOCK, RICHARD. *History*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- SIBLEY, MULFORD Q. *Political Science*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- SICKELS, ELEANOR M. *English*. Queens Coll., Flushing, N. Y.
- SIEGEL, ELI. 67 Jane St., NYC.
- SIEVERS, ALLEN M. *Economics*. Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.
- SIFTON, PAUL G. *History*. Independence Nat'l Historical Park, Philadelphia, Pa.
- SILLARS, MALCOLM. *Speech & Drama*. 703 W. Washington St., Champaign, Ill.
- SILVERMAN, HENRY J. 4209 Chester Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
- SIMONS, MRS. HOMER. *English*. Hardin-Simmons Univ., Abilene, Tex.
- SIMONSON, HAROLD P. *English*. Univ. of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Wash.
- SIMPSON, LEWIS P. *English*. La. SU, Baton Rouge.
- SINGER, MRS. KATHERINE V. 1701 Water Board Bldg., Detroit, Mich.
- SINNEN, JEANNE. Univ. of Minn. Press, Minneapolis.
- SINZER, JOSEPH. Dean of Academic Affairs, Pace Coll., NYC.
- SIO, ARNOLD. *Sociology & Anthropology*. Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N. Y.
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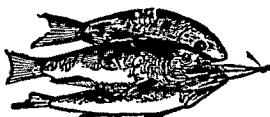
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- SIXBEY, GEORGE L. *Languages.* Northeast La. SC, Monroe.
- SKIDMORE, MAX J. 5200 Fredcrest Rd., Baltimore, Md.
- SKOTHEIM, ROBERT A. *History.* Univ. of Wash., Seattle.
- SLABEY, ROBERT M. *English.* Villanova Univ., Villanova, Pa.
- SLATE, JOSEPH E. *English.* Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- SLEEPER, SAMUEL. Oxford, Mass.
- SMALL, MIRIAM R. *English.* Wells Coll., Aurora, N. Y.
- SMART, GEORGE K. *English.* Univ. of Miami, Miami, Fla.
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- SMITH, JAMES STEEL. *English.* San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.
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- SMITH, JOHN T. *English.* Baylor Univ., Waco, Tex.
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- SMITH, WILLIAM R. 5400 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- SMYLINE, JAMES H. Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.
- SOCOLA, EDWARD M. *English.* La. SU, New Orleans.
- SOKOLOFF, B. A. *English.* Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- SOLBERG, WINTON U. *History.* Macalester Coll., St. Paul, Minn.
- SOLOMON, ERIC, 37 E. Woodruff Ave., Columbus, Ohio.
- SORIA, REGINA. *Art.* Coll. of Notre Dame of Md., Baltimore.
- SOSTROM, JOHN P. 2319 Rainbow, Laramie, Wyo.
- SOUDEERS, ROBERT. *Language Arts.* Chico SC, Chico, Cal.
- SPILLER, ROBERT E. *English.* Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- SPINGARN, LAWRENCE P. *English.* Valley Coll., Van Nuys, Cal.
- SPINNEY, FRANK. Dir., Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Mass.
- SPIVACKE, HAROLD. Chief, Music Div., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
- SPIVEY, HERMAN E. Vice Pres., Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville.
- SPRATT, J. S. *Economics.* Southern Methodist Univ., Dallas, Tex.
- STAEBLER, WARREN. *English.* Earlham Coll., Richmond, Ind.
- STAFFORD, JOHN. *English.* San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.
- STANDARD, DIFFEE. *History.* N. Tex. SC, Denton.
- STARLING, ROBERT W. *Communications Skills.* Mich. SU, E. Lansing.
- STEARNS, OWEN P. 7 Pierce Rd., Watertown, Mass.
- STECKEL, WILLIAM R. *American Studies.* Univ. of Wyo., Laramie.
- STECKMESSER, KENT L. *History.* Los Angeles SC, Los Angeles, Cal.
- STEENSEN, EILEEN. 4115 Hyer St., Dallas, Tex.
- STEIN, ROGER B. *English.* Univ. of Wash., Seattle, Wash.
- STEINBERG, A. H. *English.* Newark Coll. of Engineering, Newark, N. J.
- STENNERSON, DOUGLAS C. *English.* Winona SC, Winona, Minn.

- STERNE, RICHARD C. 18 Knowles St., Newton Centre, Mass.
- STERNSHER, BERNARD. *General Education*. Rochester Inst. of Tech., Rochester, N. Y.
- STEVENSON, GEORGE J. *History*. Emory & Henry Coll., Emory, Va.
- STEWART, PAUL R. 5154 N. Park Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
- STIBBITZ, E. EARLE. *English*. Southern Ill. Univ., Carbondale.
- STILL, BAYRD. *History*. N. Y. Univ., NYC.
- STOCK, ELY. 62 Overhill Rd., Providence, R. I.
- STOKES, GEORGE S. *English*. Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Pa.
- STOLLER, LEO. *English*. Wayne SU, Detroit, Mich.
- STONE, ADOLPH. High School of Art & Design, NYC.
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- SUCKLE, WILLIAM V. 621 W. Hortter St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- SUD, SEVA. Smith Coll., Northampton, Mass.
- SUDELMAN, ELMER F. *English*. Gustavus Adolphus Coll., St. Peter, Minn.
- SULZBY, JAMES F. JR. Sec., Ala. Historical Assoc., Birmingham.
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- SUNG-BOK, KIM. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- SUSMAN, WARREN I. *History*. Rutgers SU, New Brunswick, N. J.
- SUTHERLAND, BRUCE. *English*. Pa. SU, University Park.
- SWAMINATHAN, S. R. *English*. Univ. of Saugar, Saugar, India.
- SWEENEY, JAMES J. 120 East End Ave., NYC.
- SWEETLAND, HARRIET M. *English*. Univ. of Wis., Milwaukee.
- SYKES, JAMES A. *Music*. Dartmouth Coll., Hanover, N. H.
- SYLVESTER, HOWARD E. *English*. N. Mex. Inst. of Mining & Tech., Socorro.
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- TAKUMA, SHIMPEI. Stanford Univ., Stanford, Cal.
- TAKUWA, SHINJI. Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
- TATUM, GEORGE B. *Art*. Univ. of Pa., Philadelphia.
- TAYLOR, GEORGE R. *Economics & American Studies*. Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.
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- THORSON, GERALD. *English*. Augsburg Coll., Minneapolis, Minn.

- THROCKMORTON, ARTHUR L. *History*. Lewis & Clark Coll., Portland, Ore.
- THUC, VU QUOC. 230 Phan Thanh Gian, Saigon, Vietnam.
- TIEN, PEI-LIN. *Education*. Taiwan Normal Univ., Taipei, Taiwan.
- TINDALL, GEORGE B. *History*. Univ. of N. C., Chapel Hill.
- TINGEY, JOSEPH. 1460 Westminster Ave., Salt Lake City, Utah.
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- TOMKINS, MRS. MARY E. 1257 2nd Ave., Salt Lake City, Utah.
- TOMPKINS, BERNICE R. *History*. San Jose SC, San Jose, Cal.
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- TRACHTENBERG, ALAN. 1040 13th Ave., SE, Minneapolis, Minn.
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- TRECONNING, K. G. Univ. of Malaya, Singapore.
- TRINH, NGUYEN-QUANG. Rector, Univ. of Saigon, Saigon, Vietnam.
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- TRIPATHI, DWIJENDRA. Univ. of Wis., Madison.
- TUCK, MRS. LENN B. P. O. Box H, Booneville, Cal.
- TURNER, ARLIN. *English*. Duke Univ., Durham, N. C.
- TURNER, SUSAN JANE. *English*. Vassar Coll., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- TURNER, WILLIAM. *English*. George Washington Univ., Washington, D. C.
- TURPIE, MARY C. *American Studies*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
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- VAN ETTER, WINIFRED M. 408 S. 3rd West, Mt. Vernon, Iowa.
- VAN NESS, JAMES S. 8413 57th Ave., College Park, Md.
- VAN NOSTRAND, ALBERT D. Faculty of Philosophy, Science & Letters, Univ. of São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil.
- VAN TASSELL, DAVID D. *History*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- VATAKANCHERRY, JOSEPH A. International House, 500 Riverside Dr., NYC.
- VAUGHAN, THOMAS. Dir., Ore. Historical Soc., Portland.
- VITELLI, JOSEPH R. *English*. Lafayette Coll., Easton, Pa.
- VOGELBACK, ARTHUR L. *English*. Sweet Briar Coll., Sweet Briar, Va.
- VON WITZLEBEN, HENRY D., M.D. Veterans Administration Hospital, Palo Alto, Cal.
- VOWELL, JACK C. JR. *Government*. Tex. Western Coll., El Paso.
- VUILLEMIER, N. E. *English*. Boston Univ., Boston, Mass.
- WACHMAN, MARVIN. Lincoln Univ., Lincoln Univ., Pa.
- WADSWORTH, JOHN. 78 Irving Ave., Providence, R. I.
- WAGGONER, HYATT H. *English*. Brown Univ., Providence, R. I.
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- WALDEN, DANIEL. 44-10 Ketcham St., Elmhurst, N. Y.
- WALDEN, MRS. MARY S. Editorial Asst., Kiplinger Washington Editors, Inc., 4000 Cathedral Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.
- WALDERA, GERALD J. 2482 South St. Paul, Denver, Colo.
- WALDMEIR, JOSEPH J. *Communications Skills*. Mich. SU, E. Lansing.

- WALDRON, JOHN. *English*. Georgetown Univ., Washington, D. C.
- WALKER, FRANKLIN D. *American Literature*. Mills Coll., Oakland, Cal.
- WALKER, ROBERT. *American Literature*. George Washington Univ., Washington, D. C.
- WALL, JOSEPH F. *History*. Grinnell Coll., Grinnell, Iowa.
- WALSH, EVELYN M. 96 Pavilion Ave., Rumford, R. I.
- WANG, FUNG-CHIAI. Dir., Nat'l. Inst. for Compilation & Translation, Taipei, Taiwan.
- WARFEL, HARRY R. *English*. Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.
- WASHBURN, WILCOB. Curator, Div. of Political History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
- WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 315-323 N. Stadium Way, Tacoma, Wash.
- WASSER, HENRY H. *English*. City Coll., NYC.
- WATERS, EDWARD N. Ass't. Chief, Music Div., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
- WATKINS, GEORGE T., III. Wash. SU, Pullman.
- WATSON, CRESAP S. *English*. La. SU, New Orleans.
- WEBB, HOWARD W. JR. *English*. Southern Ill. Univ., Carbondale.
- WEBB, JAMES M. *English*. Univ. of Miss., University.
- WEBB, JOHN M. *History*. Univ. of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
- WEBER, BROM. *English*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- WEBER, DANIEL B. 805 Douglas, Mt. Pleasant, Mich.
- WEBER, RICHARD B. *English*. Skidmore Coll., Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
- WEBER, ROBERT E. 1 Valleybrook Rd., Long Valley, N. J.
- WEGLIN, CHRISTOF. *English*. Univ. of Ore., Eugene.
- WEIMER, DAVID R. *American Studies*. Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick, N. J.
- WEINSTEIN, GENE. *American Studies*. Univ. of Minn., Minneapolis.
- WEIR, EVA. *English*. Idaho SC, Pocatello.
- WEISBORD, MARVIN. 121 Glenwood Rd., Merion, Pa.
- WEISERT, JOHN J. *Modern Languages*. Univ. of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
- WEISMAN, LAWRENCE. 138 S. 44th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- WEISMANN, DONALD L. *Art*. Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- WEISS, HAROLD J. JR. *Social Sciences*. Jamestown Community Coll., Jamestown, N. Y.
- WELLAND, DENNIS S.R. *English*. Univ. of Nottingham, Nottingham, England.
- WELSH, JOHN E. *English*. Univ. of S. C., Columbia.
- WELTER, RUSH E. *History*. Bennington Coll., Bennington, Vt.
- WESSER, ROBERT. *English & American Studies*. Univ. of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y.
- WEST, B. JUNE. *Language & Literature*. Eastern N. Mex. Univ., Portales.
- WESTBROOK, PERRY D. *English*. SU of N. Y. Coll. for Teachers, Albany.
- WHALING, ANNE. *English*. 3322 Daniels Ave., Dallas, Tex.
- WHEELER, GERALD. *History*. San Jose SC, San Jose, Cal.
- WHEELER, OTIS B. *English*. La. SU, Baton Rouge.
- WHEELER, WAYNE. *Sociology*. Park Coll., Parkville, Mo.
- WHICHER, STEPHEN E. *English*. Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
- WHITBECK, G. PAUL. *English*. Bates Coll., Lewiston, Me.
- WHITE, DANA F. *English*. George Washington Univ., Washington, D. C.
- WHITE, EDWARD. Scripps Coll., Claremont, Cal.
- WHITE, HOLLIS L. *Speech*. Queens Coll., Flushing, N. Y.
- WHITE, RALPH E. Box 35, Ulster Park, N. Y.
- WHITE, WILLIAM. *Journalism*. Wayne SU, Detroit, Mich.
- WHITFORD, MRS. KATHRYN. 4657 N. 117th St., Milwaukee, Wis.
- WIGGINS, ROBERT H. *English*. Univ. of Cal., Davis.
- WILEY, AUTREY NELL. *English*. Tex. Woman's Univ., Denton.
- WILHELM, JOHN F. *English*. Sacramento SC, Sacramento, Cal.
- WILL, ROBERT E. *Economics*. Carleton Coll., Northfield, Minn.
- WILLETT, MAURITA. Univ. of Ill., Navy Pier, Chicago.

- WILLIAMS, ARTHUR R. *English*. Univ. of Mass., Amherst.
- WILLIAMS, CECIL B. *English*. Tex. Christian Univ., Fort Worth.
- WILLIAMS, DONALD E. *Speech*. Univ. of Fla., Gainesville.
- WILLIAMS, FRANK B. JR. *History*. East Tenn. SC, Johnson City.
- WILLIAMS, RAYMOND E. Librarian, Minneapolis Public Library, Minneapolis, Minn.
- WILLIAMS, WALLACE E. *English*. Ind. Univ., Bloomington.
- WILLIS, EARL T. Dean of Instruction, STC, Salisbury, Md.
- WILSON, RALEIGH A. *History*. Tenn. A. & I. Univ., Nashville.
- WILSON, ROBERT H. *English*. Northern Ill. Univ., DeKalb.
- WILT, NAPIER. *American Studies*. Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- WINSTON, GEORGE P. *English*. Lafayette Coll., Easton, Pa.
- WITKE, CARL. *History*. Western Reserve Univ., Cleveland, Ohio.
- WOHLFELDER, JULIAN V. K. 37866 Moravian Dr., Mount Clemens, Mich.
- WOLFORD, THORP. *English*. Univ. of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
- WOLFSON, THERESA. *Economics*. Brooklyn Coll., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- WOOD, RICHARD C. *English*. Randolph-Macon Coll., Ashland, Va.
- WOODBRIDGE, DANA. *Communications Skills*. Mich. SU, E. Lansing.
- WOODRESS, JAMES. *English*. San Fernando Valley SC, Northridge, Cal.
- WRAGE, ERNEST J. *Public Address*. Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Ill.
- WRENN, JOHN. *English*. Univ. of Colo., Boulder.
- WRIGHT, B. F. Coll. of Arts & Sciences, Univ. of Tex., Austin.
- WRIGHT, ELIZABETH. *Humanities*. Univ. of Ill., Chicago.
- WRIGHT, LOUIS B. Dir., Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C.
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American Quarterly

VOLUME XIII

FALL 1961

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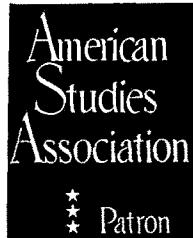
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AMERICAN QUARTERLY is published five times a year: March, May, August, October and December. *Editorial and Business Address:* Box 46, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4. *Subscription Rates:* \$6.00 a year; \$1.25 single copy. B. DeBoer, 102 Beverly Road, Bloomfield, N. J., distributor to the retail trade. Second-class postage paid at Philadelphia, Pa. Copyright 1961, Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania.

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MARVIN FISHER
Arizona State University

The Iconology of Industrialism, 1830-60

TO MANY EUROPEANS WHO VISITED THE UNITED STATES IN THE YEARS PREceding the Civil War, the sight of widespread technological development was usually unexpected, suddenly dramatic and largely admirable. Their response, however, is more varied than it first appears. For the most part, they saw in this new industrial pattern the most effective instrument of progress—a social force which paralleled and rivaled the frontier—but they could not consistently reconcile this obviously optimistic view of the new technology with their personal and, at times, unconscious reactions to it. These less obvious reactions tell us much about the mind of the European visitor as well as the social dimensions of the new technology in America. And although seldom based on purely aesthetic principles, their reactions also illuminate some of the reasons for the halting development of a functional approach to machine design.

The ambivalence in their response—common to Europeans and Americans alike, even to those most extravagant in their praise of industrialization—can be delineated best by analysis of imagery and metaphor, a sort of analysis which can often reveal unconscious or submerged associations and attitudes. To the psychologist analysis of such analogizing devices and the inconsistencies which they often involve is a projective technique; to the art historian it is the iconological method; to the sociologist it is a technique for observing covert culture; to the cultural historian it is a way of identifying the collective representations or the “myths” of a particular people at a particular time; and to the student of literature, it is the means of explicating his text and defining its structural integrity.¹

¹ The method of iconological interpretation is presented in Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York, 1939) and has been reprinted as chapter I of *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (New York, 1955). In this chapter Panofsky explained why the values of medieval civilization prevented the union of classical forms and classical themes, even though these motifs and ideas were used separately throughout the Middle Ages. Since the reasons for this dichotomy lay in the inability of a commonly held set of values to accommodate a conflicting aesthetic and intellectual tradition, I feel the situation

The emotional reactions suggested by the various images of the machines were due only in part to some intrinsic feature of the machine. To a greater extent they stemmed from a conflict in value, a moral and aesthetic conflict, between the humane role of Nature in Western thought and its implicit denial by the machine. The American landscape, so vast and recently virgin, served in fact to heighten this conflict; for in one way it fulfilled the dream of the European romantic, but in the oft-repeated observation that "steam has annihilated space," that dream was dispelled. Nature could not simultaneously be revered by man and dominated by the machine which man had erected. It was this conflict in value which gave rise to the inconsistencies between the announced view of industrialization as a force for moral and material improvement and the image of the machine as a willful, malicious or destructive force. This conflict also confused the matter of a machine aesthetic and helps explain why so many nineteenth-century machines and products look so unlike what they were.

It hardly seems necessary to discuss the importance of Nature or landscape in the nineteenth century—its economic and moral antecedents in the minds of French physiocrats and Jeffersonian democrats, its aesthetic and moral eminence in the minds of European romantics and American transcendentalists, its sway over the popular mind and practical affairs of nineteenth-century Americans.² In slightly different ways, certainly, the

is not unlike the difficulties and inconsistencies involved in the mid-nineteenth-century response to industrialism.

In its scrutiny of symbolic elements in a work of art, the iconological method bears comparison with the new critical methods of recent literary circles. The most obvious difference, of course, is one of intention: iconological interpretation tries to integrate the work with broader cultural or historical phenomena, and part of the meaning of the work stems from our viewing it as a symptom of something in society. Panofsky termed the object of iconology "the discovery and interpretation of culturally or philosophically 'symbolical' values (which are often unknown to the artist himself and may even emphatically differ from what he consciously intended to express)." As a method, then, iconology employs detailed analysis, but its purpose is synthesis. *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, p. 31.

² The degree to which Americans gave voice to and were influenced by conceptions of agrarian doctrine has been demonstrated by Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land, The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, 1950). The considerable scholarship on the implications of the picturesque provides much pertinent background, especially works by Christopher Hussey, Samuel H. Monk, Marjorie H. Nicolson and Ernest L. Tuveson. Miss Nicolson's discussion of "the aesthetics of the infinite" in *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory* (Ithaca, 1959) is a particularly informative tracing of the worship of vastness and variety in nature and the veneration of space. This concept is basic to understanding the implications of a technology wherein virtue and progress are identified with the annihilation of space and taming of nature.

In an excellent essay "Nature and the National Ego," *Errand Into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 204-16, Perry Miller suggests the difference between American and European conceptions of "Nature" and points out the often unrealized conflict

primacy of the land or the landscape was as important to Wordsworthians as to Jacksonians. And for Americans, their proximity to Nature seemed to confirm their superiority to European artificiality. For European visitors, however, the image of America was changing rapidly, far more rapidly than for most Americans: they saw the wilderness giving way. In America, where the Industrial Revolution was telescoped more suddenly and completely than elsewhere, it was not difficult for Europeans, surprised as they were, to recognize the importance of industrialization. But given their preconceptions, they could not easily shed the burden of inconsistencies which grew out of the seldom realized conflict in their beliefs. We find the range of this conflict revealed in the imagery they associated with the machine, and we find also the aesthetic confusion which it produced.

The image which reinforced the dominant response of optimistic acceptance and conveyed the idea of human supremacy over nature was the representation of the machine as a powerful servant, a beneficent slave to mankind. In an atmosphere of progress, the machine existed to do the bidding and improve the condition of its human masters. For example, Chevalier, whose task it was to study the fast-growing railroad system, voiced a seemingly unqualified faith in the machine as a means of extending man's creative abilities and his power to master the world:

There is nothing in the physical order of things of which our race has a better right to boast, than of the mechanical inventions, by means of which man holds in check the irregular vigour, or brings forth the hidden energies, of nature. By the aid of mechanical contrivances, this poor weak creature, reaching out his hands over the immensity of nature, takes possession of the rivers, of the winds of heaven, of the tides of the ocean. By them, he drags forth from the secret bowels of the earth their hidden stores of fuel and of metals, and masters the subterranean waters, which there dispute his dominion. By them, he turns each drop of water into a reservoir of steam, that is, into a magazine of power, and thus he changes the globe, in comparison with which he seems an atom, into a labourious, untiring, submissive slave, performing the heaviest tasks under the eye of its master.³

between Christian belief and the widespread veneration of Nature's spontaneous goodness. And Miller tells us also that as civilization increasingly replaced the wilderness in the 1840s and 1850s, poets, painters and preachers tried desperately to identify the unique character of America with the special virtues of wild and unspoiled nature. As machines became more common, many Americans seemed driven to establish Nature as an element of national piety, as well as the physical representation of spiritual omnipresence.

³ Michel Chevalier, *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States* (Boston, 1839), pp. 134-35.

In his words there seemed no hint that the machine could do anything but good. It was a servant to man, constructed to aid him in his mastery of nature. Although it served to subordinate nature there was no indication that the machine could in any way rival man, much less usurp his powers. This view of the machine is Promethean. It is aggressively man-centered, for the machine has supplied man the spark of power which had been reserved for the gods, and granted him a measure of importance out of proportion to his innate propensities. In this view, nature exists to be exploited rather than to be admired for its beauty or obeyed for its implied morality.

Somewhat paradoxically, Chevalier was, as we shall see, a devotee of the picturesque. And to the doctrine of the picturesque, which, with all its connotations of the sacred and the sublime in Nature, had permeated Western thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this celebration of technology was fraught with troublesome conflict. If to the orthodox, the gospel of the sublime seems a species of sentimental heresy, this technological counterstatement, which posits man's triumph over Nature, must compound that heresy with increasingly secular concerns.

Transportation improvements made visible not only the sudden taming of raw nature, but also the degree to which man could overcome the vast distances of the new world, ostensibly bringing the benefits of civilization to all. Fredrika Bremer, the Swedish novelist, noted a steamboat "laboring and puffing, dragging along a large fleet of larger and smaller craft."⁴ She saw this traffic in both directions, the exchange of the produce of fields for the product of factories. An even greater agency of man was the railroad, which unified the American nation by extending "its arms towards every city and every village," and which could "grasp with its iron hand, the most distant parts of the most extensive empire."⁵ These images, whether they evoke a Promethean myth or an Arabian Nights jinni point to the apparent benefits of man's mastering a power greater than his own.

Miraculous communication was another way of annihilating space. One visiting clergyman, impressed by the low cost of sending messages to distant points, wondered why the businesslike operator appeared "utterly unconscious of the sublimity of the system in which he was acting a part." This operator, he thought, was unaware "that this almost magic system is consolidating the American continent . . . Little did he

⁴ *The Homes of the New World*, trans. Mary Howitt (2 vols.; New York, 1854), I, 48-49.

⁵ Guillaume Tell Poussin, *The United States; Its Power and Progress*, trans. E. L. DuBarry (Philadelphia, 1851), p. 375.

seem to anticipate the still more extensive results of this great discovery in the uniting of distant nations, the promotion of commerce and of peace, and incidentally, perhaps, the wide diffusion of the Gospel.”⁶ Thus the magic of the telegraph could make it an agency of morality as well as an instrument of progress. But because the miracle of the telegraph was embodied in no strange, bulky and unfamiliar form such as the charging locomotive, the puffing steamboat or some stationary power machinery, it elicited less of the apprehension which sometimes surrounded the latter machines, even though the imagery used to describe it stressed its role in overcoming the obstacles of nature.

In 1833, the author of a satire, supposedly the ex-barber to the King of England, devised a steam-operated shaving machine for his American clientele. He did not, however, realize the fortune which he expected, for his machine too neatly performed a job for which it was not intended: it sliced the noses of too many customers.⁷ Though exaggerated for its humorous effect, Fibbleton’s shaving machine would not have seemed funny had it not had some remote basis in reality. The fear that the machine could deviate accidentally or willfully from its assigned course of operation has recurred frequently in the human imagination; and the more complex the machine, the greater the fear. This fear was more than fear of accidental damage. It was rather the fear of subjecting oneself to the unfamiliar and often inexplicable machine, and of man’s losing mastery over what he had created. The nineteenth-century traveler who was somewhat apprehensive about the immense power of a railroad locomotive was no less sophisticated than today’s businessman who stands in awe of the retentive and the reasoning powers of an electronic computing device. Both have displayed the tendency to assign animistic or physiological characteristics to the machine—very likely an effort to bring the strange and fearsome thing into the circle of the familiar, to placate it and to calm their own fears by assigning to it the qualities of the living. Neither the “iron horse” nor the “mechanical brain” could be mistaken for an animate creature, but men have employed numerous metaphors and analogies to “domesticate” the locomotive and to “humanize” the mechanical computer. In many such instances the attempt to imbue the machine with the recognizable characteristics of living

⁶ Henry Caswall, *The Western World Revisited* (Oxford, 1854), p. 276. Alexander Mackay, at about the same time, felt that the day was near “when the sensitive wires will extend in all directions, acting . . . like the nerves in the human system; when the framework of nature will, as it were, become sentient,” so that important information could be transmitted simultaneously to all parts of the nation. *The Western World* (3 vols.; London, 1850), II, 258.

⁷ George Fibbleton [Asa Greene], *Travels in America* (New York, 1833), pp. 99-101. Greene was an American satirizing British accounts of America.

creatures betrays the individual's unconscious apprehensions and his eagerness to fit the intruding machine into a familiar and comfortable system of thought.

For example, Chevalier, whose overwhelming praise of the machine is evident in the following passage, concluded with some disturbing implications. While he intended to exalt the power of man as an inventor, he suggested something different:

Is there anything which gives a higher idea of the power of man, than the steam-engine under the form in which it is applied to produce motion on railroads? It is more than a machine, it is almost a living being; it moves, it runs like a courser at the top of his speed; more than this, it breathes: the steam which issues at regular periods from the pipes, and is condensed into a white cloud, resembles the quick breathing of a racehorse. A steam-engine has a complete respiratory apparatus, which acts like our own by expansion and compression; it wants only a system of circulation to live.⁸

Here, certainly, is a strong suggestion of the Frankenstein myth in this description of a creation so like a living creature but lacking a single characteristic. And in a succeeding passage that reached for images even deeper into the unconscious reserve of fear, Chevalier constructed a more terrifying portrait of the railroad engine. This locomotive he saw emerging from the depths of the forest, "formerly the domain of the great king Powhatan and his copper-coloured warriors, its chimney throwing sparks, its pipes breathing quickly." There in the very heart of primitive nature he had to call upon all his wits and his literal knowledge of mechanics as well as upon "the incredulity of the age, not to believe this flying, panting, flaming machine, a winged dragon vomiting forth fire."⁹ Of course, railroads existed in Europe; and Chevalier, an expert in technological matters, was not in the least unfamiliar with railroad locomotives. Why then, should he be so struck by this American technological scene? His own words supply a very satisfactory answer: he saw the locomotive, the symbol of man's dominance over space, over time, over the very forces of nature, but this locomotive was emerging from the wilderness, the shrine of nature's supremacy. The locomotive was not itself unique, but the locomotive in the actual presence of the wilderness—the romantic wilderness of "great king Powhatan and his

⁸ *Society . . . in the United States*, pp. 134-35. Employing the same kind of imagery and accidentally supplementing Chevalier's description, Fredrika Bremer wrote, "Locomotives are here like pulses, which impel the blood through the veins and arteries of the body to every part of the system." I, 540, *Homes of the New World*.

⁹ *Society . . . in the United States*, p. 135.

copper-coloured warriors"—was entirely unique and obviously contradictory to the European's romanticized view of America.

Chevalier was not alone in his rather covert or submerged fear of the railroad locomotive. Alfred Pairpoint, while ostensibly praising American progress in locomotive production, endowed with life two engines being prepared for shipment to Egypt: "These locomotives, as they puffed and snorted—impatient, as it were, to get beyond the limits by which they were confined—appeared huge, powerful-looking monsters."¹⁰ In his mind, these machines were not only living, feeling creatures; they were powerful *monsters*, more to be feared than admired. Alexander Mackay, a reputable journalist and barrister, resorted to the same sort of animism to explain why American cities prohibited locomotives within the city limits. Certainly, the incendiary locomotives were a danger to the inflammable wooden buildings, but Mackay suggested that the danger stemmed from the locomotive's too-stimulating diet and consciously mischievous spirit:

With us, locomotives are fed on nothing but coke; in America they devour nothing but wood; and, like a horse kept exclusively upon oats, the latter are difficult to manage, from the nature of their diet. They are constantly attended by a formidable train of obdurate sparks, and sometimes amuse themselves on the way by setting fire to a barn, a hayrick, and the like, and, when they have nothing else to do, burning down a fence.¹¹

There was clearly an element of playfulness in Mackay's mood, but it seems probable that his choice of imagery also indicated some covert fears. His analogy, which at first seems nothing more than clever, was selected after all from an almost infinite range of possibilities; still it returns us by metaphor to that willful, destructive creature, horselike but unnatural.

Charles Dickens, however, made no attempt to mask his fear and dislike of American railroads. Recalling a typical journey, he wrote, "On, on, on tears the mad dragon of an engine with its train of cars; scattering in all directions a shower of burning sparks from its wood fire; screeching, hissing, yelling, panting; until at last the thirsty monster stops beneath a covered way to drink, the people cluster round, and you have time to breathe again."¹² As a novelist, he was aware of the function of meta-

¹⁰ *Uncle Sam and His Country* (London, 1857), pp. 310-11.

¹¹ *The Western World* (3 vols.; London, 1850), I, 148.

¹² *American Notes for General Circulation* (2 vols.; London, 1842), I, 151. Dickens' attitudes are of course most explicit in the moral allegory of *Hard Times*, which indicts industrial society not simply for economic exploitation but for depersonalizing the individual human being and mechanizing all human relations.

phor, and he was not so much concerned with reporting his reaction to American industrialization as he was with expressing its meaning within the broader context of human experience. This meaning is expressed in the cluster of terms suggesting not only the unhuman but the inhumane quality of an industrial civilization. There can be no mistaking this monstrous dragon with its beastlike noises for some benign bearer of burdens. It clearly did not harmonize with the sort of life Dickens valued. Fredrika Bremer passed a similar judgment, though her use of figurative language was more restrained than Dickens'. She recalled that she had left her hosts after a pleasant evening of conversation and entertainment and "hastened to the railway, which, as with an iron hand, had stopped the music of life."¹³ Again, the railroad, with its inflexible and impersonal "iron hand," seemed in opposition to the amenities of civilized life. Of course, the railroad itself was not responsible for her leaving the scene of her enjoyment, but her response, as well as that of Dickens, was irrational. What gave rise to the emotion was not the machine itself, but rather its inharmonious presence against a background of human and humane interests.

The accident statistics spelled out in such gory detail in Captain Marryat's *Diary in America* offer a partial reason for travelers' fearing the railroad, but Marryat's three volumes are so loaded with anti-American bias that his laboriously gathered figures and descriptions must be suspect. His diary is more a product of artfulness than of experience. However, the element of danger in railroad travel cannot be lightly dismissed. T. C. Grattan, for many years the British consul in America, related an experience which suggested that the danger of American railroads was not only that they killed and maimed people but that they fostered a strong feeling of impersonality and unconcern about human life. He wrote that on one journey he felt "a violent jolt, accompanied by a loud crash" which alarmed the passengers. The train continued, nevertheless, with undiminished speed, and the passengers reassured themselves that all was well. At the next scheduled stop, Grattan approached the conductor and the engineer to inquire about the incident, and subsequently recorded the following dialogue.

In answer to his first question about the jolt, the engineer answered, "Well, it was in going over a chaise and horse." Grattan asked whether there was anyone in the chaise.

¹³ *Homes of the New World*, I, 61. In his study of industrial imagery in nineteenth-century English poetry—"Poetry and Industrialism . . .," *Modern Language Review*, LIII (April 1958), 160-70, Jeremy Warburg suggests that the difference between mere mention of a technological fact and the use of that fact as a basis of metaphor is a good index to the depth of a writer's response to what is new.

"Oh, yes, there were two ladies."

"Were they thrown out?"

"I guess they were, and pretty well smashed, too."

"Good God! and why didn't you stop the train? Can't you send back to know what state they're in?"

"Well, mister, I reckon they're in the State of Delaware; but you'd better jump into the steamer there, or you're like to lose your passage."¹⁴

Significantly, Grattan slighted the humor in this exchange to make a point about Americans. In their pursuit of progress, in their refusal to slow down or to go back, these "go-ahead" Americans seemed to sacrifice their humanity and their compassion, and satisfied the demands of the machine or of the system built around the machine.

Reactions to the steamboat closely parallel what we have noted in regard to the railroad. Here, too, the dangers were especially real when two or more steamboats raced each other, their fires growing hotter and pressure on the boilers increasing. There was one necessary difference in this vein of imagery. Whereas the point of familiar reference in many descriptions of the unfamiliar locomotive was the horse (and the locomotive became some grotesque transformation of the horse), the point of familiar reference for the steamboat was the sailing ship and the steamboat became some mad, restless mutation of the more "natural" sailing ship. A look at two such examples again reveals the writer's imagery conveying meaning beyond his explicit statement.

To Dickens the steam ferryboats around New York were restless insects, but the nearby sailing vessels were "creatures of a prouder kind."¹⁵ On a trip across Long Island Sound, he described how his steamship

shot in quick succession, past a lighthouse; a madhouse (how the lunatics flung up their caps, and roared in sympathy with the headlong engine and the driving tide!); a jail; and other buildings; and so emerged into a noble bay, whose waters sparkled in the new cloudless sunshine like Nature's eyes turned up to Heaven.¹⁶

The objects he noted strongly suggested danger, insanity and confinement until suddenly superseded by the pure and natural and even sacred beauty of bright sunlight and sparkling water. But the representation of lunacy, not of Nature, was in harmony with the rushing ship. Elsewhere on his American tour he admired the sentiment and apparently the sym-

¹⁴ Thomas Colley Grattan, *Civilized America* (2 vols.; London, 1859), I, 161-62.

¹⁵ *American Notes for General Circulation*, I, 187-88.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

bolism of a temperance poster showing the steamboat *Alcohol* exploding while the good ship *Temperance* sailed safely before a good wind.¹⁷ And in another instance, he expressed his pleasure in lying on the deck of a canalboat at night—although he found the situation in the sleeping compartment below deck intolerable. The ship glided slowly past shadowy hills and dark trees, punctuated by an occasional campfire in the distance. He experienced “pure delights” in “the shining out of the bright stars, undisturbed by noise of wheels or steam, or any other sound than the liquid rippling of water as the boat went on.”¹⁸ Here, then, was a conveyance which, unlike the frantic steamboat, did not interfere with the sanctity of the natural order.

In a similar reaction to the machine, Miss Bremer insisted that sailing vessels were “infinitely more beautiful and more poetical than steam-vessels.” The advantages of the former were not matters of safety nor, initially, of aesthetics, but of a moral commitment to the natural order; on board the steamboat one missed “the song of the wind or the billows, because of the noise caused by the machinery” and could “enjoy no sea-air . . . free from the fumes of the chimney.” Steamboats, she continued, might have some virtue in the rivers, “but on the sea—the sailing-ship forever!”¹⁹ The presence of the machine, after all, was the intrusion of the future on the present; the appreciation of art and natural beauty was the continuation in the present of the values of the past. And this moral preference for the system of Nature (and its implications) over the system of the machine (and its implications) provided a basis for aesthetic judgment.

The inevitable loss of the picturesque in regions newly turned to manufacturing was an obvious disadvantage of the new technology and emphasized the incompatibility of the systems represented by Nature and by the machine. The essentially rural features of New England formed a unique setting for industrial activity, and many Europeans thought it exceedingly fine for American workers “to have their dwellings and their occupation fixed in spots where the hills are heaped together, and the waters leap and whirl among the rocks.”²⁰ Others, however, looked with considerably less favor on the factory-building habits of the enterprising Americans. Frances Trollope, who constantly lamented the lack of ruined

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 88.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 62. Leo Marx has shown how Hawthorne's reactions to industrialism follow this same pattern and in fact supply the symbolism and color the meaning of “Ethan Brand.” See “The Machine in the Garden,” *The New England Quarterly*, XXIX (March 1956), 27-42.

¹⁹ *Homes of the New World*, I, 531.

²⁰ Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (2 vols.; New York, 1837), II, 38.

abbey, feudal castles, domes, towers and steeples in America, made only one direct reference to industrialization—and that reference to reveal a boorish peculiarity of the American character. Traveling in upstate New York, she admired a romantic scene of untouched wilderness. A Yankee companion felt compelled to apologize for the phenomenon. Explaining that the wilderness property had until recently belonged to an Englishman, he added, "If you was to see it five years hence, you would not know it again; I'll engage there will be by that, half a score elegant factories—'tis a true shame to let such a privilege of water lie idle."²¹ Chevalier, who, we must remember, was an ardent admirer of American technological accomplishment, was also a devotee of the picturesque. His musing over the American's demonstrated mastery of nature in the following passage strikes the same note as his shock at seeing the locomotive emerging from the wilderness; and it suggests again the systems of thought which center on Nature and on the machine:

Those waterfalls which we admired as lovers of the picturesque, and the height of which our officers measured at the risk of their lives, he [the American] has shut up for the risk of his mills and factories, regardless of the scenery. If these countries had continued to belong to the French, the population would certainly have been more gay than the present American race; . . . but it would have had less of comfort and wealth, and ages would have passed away, before man had become master of those regions, which have been reclaimed in less than fifty years by the Americans.²²

Though Chevalier seems to indicate that Americans were not troubled by their progressive domination of nature, current studies of our national literature—especially such figures as Hawthorne, Melville, Mark Twain, Henry Adams, William Dean Howells, Frank Norris, even Hemingway and Faulkner—and studies of political and economic thought from about 1830 demonstrate that Americans, consciously or unconsciously, confronted the same conflict.²³ But Chevalier, in his own day pulled by his split allegiances, would be the first to admit that the Americans had gained by their sacrifice of nature—while he stilled his questions and quieted his reservations.

²¹ Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, ed. Donald Smalley (New York, 1949), pp. 372-73.

²² *Society . . . in the United States*, p. 281.

²³ I am thinking particularly of an address by Leo Marx at the American Historical Association meeting in December, 1958, "Two Kingdoms of Force": Technology and the Literary Imagination," which appeared subsequently in *The Massachusetts Review*, I (Oct. 1959), 62-95; and of Marvin Meyers' recent re-examination of a segment of nineteenth-century thought in *The Jacksonian Persuasion* (Stanford, 1957).

The imagery which many Europeans used to describe the growing industrial cities of America—such places as Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Wheeling—again suggests the desecration of natural beauty and the perversion of health and morality, even though the majority of observers meant to emphasize the manifold benefits of industrialism in America. The stock comparisons, of course, were the English cities of Manchester, Birmingham and Sheffield; but for many Europeans the contrast between their preconceptions of America and the evidence of the new technology, the lack of transition between splendid nature and active factories, intensified their uneasiness.

James Stuart, so full of praise for most things and places American, found it necessary to warn emigrants of the clouds of smoke which hung over Pittsburgh and gave "a gloomy cast to the beautiful hills which surround it."²⁴ Buckingham, among the fairest and the most encyclopedic of all commentators, reported that neither houses nor streets, garments nor persons could escape sooty contamination: clean faces were "objects of rare occurrence and clean hands still more so." In fact, the sight reminded him of "the description given in the Scriptures of the appearance of the plain of Sodom and Gomorrah, on the day after the destruction of those cities by fire, when 'the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace.'"²⁵ Pairpoint, using a similar analogy, described the furnace room of a glass factory as a secular counterpart of Hell.²⁶ And when we discover in the words of another visitor that in some American cities "chimneys continued to vomit forth soot even on the day of rest,"²⁷ we realize the depth of the loss. This nineteenth-century smog, which impregnated the atmosphere, countered divine intention and continued simultaneously to despoil nature and defile the Sabbath.

Using the qualities of nature in a traditionally poetic way to suggest certain human qualities, another friendly visitor extended the charges against industrialism. Alexander Mackay found Pittsburgh distinguished by "the dingy and sickly character of the vegetation in its immediate vicinity," and in the same passage suggested that youth, purity and innocence were sullied by contact with the atmosphere of industrialism: "The fresh green leaf and the delicate flower being begrimed, ere they have fully unfolded themselves, by the smoke and soot with which the whole atmosphere is impregnated."²⁸ Indeed, Mackay's image is a metaphorical

²⁴ *Three Years in North America* (3 vols.; London, 1833), II, 475.

²⁵ James Silk Buckingham, *The Eastern and Western States* (3 vols.; London, 1842), II, 185.

²⁶ *Uncle Sam and His Country*, p. 155.

²⁷ Charles Mackay, *Life and Liberty in America* (New York, 1859), p. 122.

²⁸ *The Western World*, III, 86.

introduction to the reactions of other observers to the girls tending their machines at Lowell.

Although most observers found Lowell a "philanthropic manufacturing college" and supported the rigid moral formula by which the workers' lives were ordered, the language of some again reveals a strong undercurrent of doubt and uncertainty. For Chevalier the characteristic sound of Lowell was the noise of hammers and spindles and of bells calling the hands back to their machines: "It is the peaceful hum of an industrious population, whose movements are regulated like clockwork."²⁹ And he termed the hundreds of girls there "the nuns of Lowell," who, "instead of working *sacred hearts*, spin and weave cotton"³⁰—certainly a very revealing remark. First of all, he was emphasizing the excessive prudery and code of virtue imposed on the girls, but he also suggested that in this industrial situation no girl could realize her feminine potentialities. Somewhat ironically, then, he implied that they had taken their vows to serve their machines, "ere they had fully unfolded themselves." Another visitor, admiring the clean, neat factory and the girls' efficiency, noted "a certain pallor and anxious sadness on their countenances" as they worked at "the most beautiful specimens of machinery."³¹ Like Melville or Henry Adams, these Europeans seem to be suggesting an inherent antagonism between machine production and human reproduction. Significantly enough, it was a woman who responded most directly to what was happening at Lowell. Very hopefully, Fredrika Bremer

visited the manufactories, and saw 'the young ladies' at their work . . . Only I noticed that some of 'the young ladies' were about fifty . . . I was most struck by the relationship between the human being and the machinery. Thus, for example, I saw the young girls standing —each one between four busily-working spinning jennies: . . . and guarding them much as a mother would watch over and tend her children. The machinery was like an obedient child under the eye of an intelligent mother.³²

These New England girls seem more like the victims than the beneficiaries of their industrial labor. The machines which they tend have usurped the most basic of human functions, and enforce a far more subtle and no more humane enslavement than the "peculiar institution" of the Southern States. Neither form of servitude could do much to advance the democratic principles of a nation proudest of its freedoms.

²⁹ Society . . . in the United States, p. 129.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

³¹ Pairpoint, *Uncle Sam and His Country*, pp. 164, 165.

³² *Homes of the New World*, p. 210.

Thus, beneath the generally favorable response of most Europeans, lay these covert fears about the dehumanization of the industrial worker—fears which grew most distinct at the sight of female operatives performing their mechanical duties,³³ fears which trouble us even today.

What holds this network of fears and objections together is the feeling that various features of the new technology violated certain commonly held attitudes toward Nature, whether it be natural beauty, natural health or purity, the natural observance of divine ordination, or the natural behavior, emotions and functions of human beings. That these fears were more often submerged in imagery than stated explicitly is symptomatic of the difficulty—common to both Europeans and Americans in the nineteenth century—of believing simultaneously in the benefits of inevitable progress (with the machine as chief instrument) and in the goodness of a quasi-religious conception of nature. The presence of this conflict, seldom fully realized, in the minds of men has affected the course of events, the shape of literature and the fine arts, and standards of machine design and machine production.

In this last regard I mean simply that the divided allegiances of many in the nineteenth century greatly hindered the diffusion of functionalism as a principle in architecture or industrial design. Thus, this conflict of commitments helps account for the fifty-year gap between the seeds planted by Horatio Greenough in America, Viollet-le-Duc in Europe, and the harvest of their heirs. And even these early theorists of functionalism worked from the moral hypothesis that Nature is structurally honest and exhibits in its organisms forms which express their function—an aesthetic counterpart of Darwin's biological hypothesis. This seems to me a subject worth more speculation and investigation than it has received.³⁴

³³ To an amazing degree, Herman Melville's sketch "The Tartarus of Maids" follows this same vein of imagery; see W. R. Thompson, "The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids: A Reinterpretation," *American Quarterly*, IX (Spring, 1957), 34-45. And in *The Education of Henry Adams*, the polarities represented by the Virgin and the Dynamo express not only the conflict between past and present or the power of love and the power of machinery, but also the conflict between beauty and utility or religion and science.

³⁴ Although John A. Kouwenhoven, in *Made in America* (New York, 1948), has argued persuasively and instructively that American artifacts characteristically developed simple, functional patterns which he termed "vernacular" forms, he has told only part of the story. He recognized the continuance, though never the dominance, of a more elaborate and ornamental "cultivated" tradition, but noted it only to stress the virtue of the "vernacular." And although he fits realistic landscape painting and literary realism into the vernacular along with functional machine forms and objects of daily use, my study cannot follow his distinctions. The problem is more than a semantic quibble over the meaning of a "realistic" response. It seems to me that the "realism" of functional design in machine forms and in architecture is quite different in both

To insist that all the imagery I encountered stresses the tension between a rising industrialism and cherished belief would be an oversimplification though not a misleading one, I think. A few observers, whose notions of beauty were less influenced by the idealizations and refinements of art and literature, found that the machine could express a beauty of its own. Though novel and unfamiliar, it need not be irreconcilable with the natural environment and human sensibilities; it could be evaluated simply as a machine designed to perform certain limited tasks. A few others, however, less able to deal with the machine in its own terms tried, perhaps too hard, to render it a harmonious addition to nature, even representing some of the traditional values of art and nature. Their attempt harbors some important confusions.

Those few who seemed to approach some concept of functionalism in their response to American machinery perceived "beauty" in machine construction and clearly associated "beauty" not only with workmanship but also with performance. In Philadelphia in 1831, the Englishman Godfrey T. Vigne wrote that "the waterworks on the Schuylkill are probably the finest in the world: they can scarcely be praised too highly for beauty of design, simplicity of construction, and real usefulness."³⁵ His words strongly suggest a functionalist creed, similar to that formulated by Greenough and well ahead of the time.

Both James Lumsden, a businessman, and J. F. W. Johnston, a chemist, made statements suggesting the beginnings of similar aesthetic standards. Also in Philadelphia, but in the early 1840s, Lumsden was impressed by the machinery at the United States Mint: "The steam engine that supplies mechanical power for the whole operations of the Mint is of the most ingenious construction, and it is scarcely possible to conceive anything of the kind more beautiful."³⁶ He clearly valued the design and construction and further supported his conclusion by citing the quiet, efficient operation of the machinery and the "exquisite" and "accurate" workmanship. Johnston, at Lowell, termed the functioning of "the self-acting machinery," which turned out carpeting as easily as calico, "a pleasing sight to see."³⁷ Numerous others stressed the superior

origin and implication from the "realism" of landscape and genre painting; and to equate them can overlook as much as it reveals. The iconography of most mid-nineteenth-century landscapes often countered "realistic" responses to the machine—not only in the genteel romanticism of the Hudson River painters or the unabashed grandiloquence of Bierstadt or Moran, but even in such a landscape as Inness' *Lackawanna Valley*, which clearly subordinates the railroad to the order of nature.

³⁵ *Six Months in America* (2 vols.; London, 1832), I, 29.

³⁶ *American Memoranda, by a Mercantile Man* (Glasgow, 1844), p. 17.

³⁷ *Notes on North America, Agricultural, Economical, and Social* (2 vols.; London, 1851), II, 426.

efficiency of American machines and manufacturing processes without reference to the appearance of the machine. Even though none of these machines which appeared beautiful to a few might be termed "functional" today, the fact that beauty was linked with notions of utility, simplicity and efficiency indicates a rational response to the machine as something consistent with the purpose for which it had been constructed. The scarcity of this kind of comment, I think, indicates the strength of the cultivated tradition and of an emotional and intellectual commitment to "Nature."

Many of the previously mentioned instances of animal-like imagery applied to mechanical devices indicated attempts to reconcile the unfamiliar intruder with the more familiar setting. Although widespread, they represent, as I have said, attitudes that were neither deliberate nor rational but rather covert and unacknowledged. These responses are frequently the ingenuous expression of the preconscious, or to employ more of the psychologist's language, the result of free association which permits preconscious analogic processes. Less frank but no less revealing were the attempts to make the machine an element in complete harmony with nature, for frequently they constitute a kind of illusion—an instance of seeing what one wanted to see or not seeing what one was unwilling to see—what psychologists might call the operation of conscious or unconscious mentation to distort or repress the complex signals of the preconscious.³⁸

To take such a striking and totally mechanized object as a railroad locomotive and to say that it fits right in with the scheme of field and forest may be a sort of transcendental self-deception. Yet, in several instances, precisely this was done. Emerson in his essay "The Poet" suggested that factory and railway were part of the vast order of Nature but indicated that it took the poetic imagination to overcome "dislocation and detachment" and restore the technological to the great Order. Harriet Martineau apparently had an easier time integrating the mechanical and the natural setting; but she is not entirely convincing as she explained that she "never saw an economical work of art harmonize so well with the vastness of a natural scene as here. From the piazza of the house at Branchville, the forest fills the whole scene, with the railroad stretching through it in a straight line, to the vanishing point."³⁹ In insisting that the line of track and the locomotive which traverses it are a harmonious part of the natural scene, she could be blocking out an

³⁸ I am using the terminology of L. S. Kubie in *Neurotic Distortion of the Creative Process* (Lawrence, 1958).

³⁹ *Society in America*, II, 8.

element from her experience. Psychologists, as we all know, use (or misuse) a variety of projective techniques to get at what has been forced out of conscious awareness. Admittedly conjectural, such a technique applied to these personal and historical materials can still be useful; and it is more than fancy to suggest that the writer who described the railroad's harmonizing with nature or the painter who fitted the railroad into a romantic landscape might have been ignoring or repressing what was least natural. He was at least expressing the desire to find sanction for the machine by emphasizing the natural environment. It is significant that on the page following the above passage Miss Martineau mentioned the train running down men on the track.

Another example might make my point more clearly. Chevalier, whose observations have already been so useful in outlining the conflict between Nature and the machine, tried very consciously to associate aspects of railroad construction with traditional ideas of natural and artificial beauty. He compared railroad tunnels with beautiful caverns, and said of a locomotive chimney that it was "not, perhaps, less perfect in its proportions than Pompey's Pillar." The trail of burning cinders, he proposed, made the railroad "the most poetical of all vehicles."⁴⁰ Certainly, he was suggesting that there was beauty in the machine, but it was the beauty borrowed from a concept of nature, of picturesque classic ruins and of romantic poetry—not the beauty of the machine itself, doing what it was constructed to do and reflecting its purpose in its appearance. His over-insistence on irrelevant standards of beauty suggests his great uneasiness about the machine—despite his intended praise—and also the lengths to which he went to reconcile the machine with the human imagination and the natural scene. He was no exception; like so many others, European and American, he was ready to accept the machine, but not simply as a machine. It had to reflect, enhance or harmonize with objects and ideas which its presence and its meaning contradicted. When the form of the machine reflected its purpose, it did not harmonize with "Nature." When, through embellishment and disguise, it fitted traditional notions of beauty, it could not be functional; but for many it could be "beautiful." The aesthetic principles derived from an intellectual, even a religious, commitment to Nature not only hindered a direct expression of function in form but also prompted a set of conventions (flowery scrolls, claw feet, classical imitations and even a somewhat specious arts and crafts program) which helped make the machine or its product acceptable at a time when the meaning of the machine was far from acceptable.

⁴⁰ Society . . . in the United States, p. 30.

LOUIS D. RUBIN JR.
Hollins College

The Southern Muse: Two Poetry Societies

"DOWN THERE," WROTE H. L. MENCKEN, "A POET IS ALMOST AS RARE AS an oboe-player, a dry-point etcher, or a metaphysician." If by poet he meant anyone who composed verses, he was wrong, of course. There were countless Southern ladies who filled the newspaper poetry columns with their lyrics, and kept the little book presses busy turning out slim volumes of perishable sentiment. But if by poet he meant one who wrote good poetry, Mencken did not in the year 1920 exaggerate. Since Sidney Lanier the Southern states of the American Union had produced no poet of more than local and seasonal interest. In Chicago there was a Renaissance in poetry going on, and in England T. S. Eliot had published *Prufrock* and was working on other poems. But in the South all was still.

Or so it appeared; actually the poets were gathering there too. In Nashville a group of young men were meeting once a week at James M. Frank's house to read and discuss each other's work. In Charleston Du Bose Heyward and Hervey Allen came together on Wednesday nights at John Bennett's home and talked over their verse. In New Orleans Julius Weis Friend and John McClure were planning a magazine. In Oxford, Mississippi, the student newspaper, *The Mississippian*, was publishing verse by an undergraduate at the University of Mississippi named William Faulkner. By the very next year the results began to be evident. In 1921 three new magazines and a poetry year book appeared in the South. The magazines were *The Fugitive*, of Nashville; *The Double-Dealer*, of New Orleans; and *The Reviewer*, of Richmond; and the year book was that of the Poetry Society of South Carolina. A year later Harriet Monroe could fill an issue of *Poetry* magazine with a Southern selection.

Of these publications, the two most important, so far as Southern poetry was concerned, were *The Fugitive* and the *Year Book of the Poetry Society of South Carolina*. Though *The Double-Dealer* published the

first stories of William Faulkner and Ernest Hemingway, it was an eclectic little magazine, with no strong Southern roots, which presented poetry from all over, including much from Nashville. *The Reviewer*, edited by Emily Clark and others, contained work by many of the most illustrious writers of the 1920s, but it did not represent the center of a Southern poetry movement.

The Fugitive, on the other hand, constituted a veritable literary revolution; it was the organ of an energetic and highly articulate group of young Southerners with common literary aims and interests. In Charleston the Poetry Society was founded by Heyward and Allen in a conscious attempt to instigate a revival in Southern poetry, and its most active members thought of themselves as kindred workers. During the years that followed, when people mentioned Southern poetry, it was to these two groups that they referred.

To the observer in the early 1920s there seemed to be strong similarities in the poetry groups of Nashville and Charleston. Both were made up of young Southerners who wanted to write, and who thought the creation of poetry a respectable goal in life. The leaders of both groups were in conscious revolt against the accustomed notions of what poetry and poets should be in the South. "The *Fugitive* flees from nothing faster than from the high-caste Brahmins of the Old South," that magazine announced in its first issue.¹ "We believe that culture in the South is not merely an ante-bellum tradition, but an instant, vital force, awaiting only opportunity and recognition to burst into artistic expression," began Du Bose Heyward's foreword to the first number of the *Year Book of the Poetry Society of South Carolina*.² Both groups rejected the Daughters of the Confederacy ideal for Southern poetry; both wanted poems to be something more than rhymed platitudes. And both groups began producing poems that were much more than that.

They thought of each other as fellow workers for a common cause. The Poetry Society *Year Books* noted with approval the activities of their Nashville brethren, and several times announced the award of prizes to them in the Society's annual competitions. In 1924, when the finances of *The Fugitive* were at low ebb, one of the Nashville poets suggested the possibility of merging their magazine with that of the Charleston group.³

Yet, despite the apparent similarity, these two Southern poetry groups were essentially dissimilar—in their aims, their functions, their attitudes

¹ Louise Cowan, *The Fugitive Group: A Literary History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), p. 48.

² *Year Book of the Poetry Society of South Carolina, 1921* (Charleston, S. C.: Poetry Society of South Carolina), p. 5.

³ Cowan, p. 149.

toward the South and toward the writing of poetry. Only by geographical and historical proximity can the Nashville Fugitives and the Poetry Society of South Carolina be considered kindred groups. In the distinction between them lay a commentary on what modern poetry was and would become.

Today almost no one reads the poems of the South Carolinians for reasons of other than historical interest. Those members of the group whose work came to warrant any attention are remembered today as novelists and playwrights—Heyward for *Porgy*, Allen for *Anthony Adverse*, Josephine Pinckney for *Three O'Clock Dinner*, Henry Bellamann for *King's Row*, John Bennett for the children's book he wrote many years before the Society came into existence, *Master Skylark*. Of all these only *Porgy* importantly survives today, and as an opera by Heyward and George Gershwin.

The Fugitives of Nashville, on the other hand, included poets now numbered among the most important American writers of our century—John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, Donald Davidson, Robert Penn Warren. It would be impossible to compose a history of modern American poetry without paying close attention to their work.

Because these two Southern poetry groups, which seemed for a time to be so similar in origins and aims, made such disparate contributions to American literary life, it is interesting to explore the ways in which they were different. To begin with, their very nature was dissimilar. The Nashville Fugitives were a closely-knit group of young poets existing in order to write poetry and to criticize each other's work. Fugitive meetings were not social occasions. The members came together each week with carboned copies of their latest poems, which they passed around and commented on. The meetings were no-holds-barred affairs, with each Fugitive engaging without protocol in strenuous give-and-take discussion, defending and attacking. By contrast, the meetings of the Poetry Society of South Carolina were formal, public affairs, in which members of the society gathered on announced occasions to hear poets read from their work and lecturers speak on literary topics. At a typical Fugitive meeting there were seldom as many as a dozen participants present; the Poetry Society of South Carolina consisted of several hundred members of whom only a very few were practicing poets. The Fugitives existed to write poetry, and for no other reason; their magazine was a vehicle for their work. The Poetry Society of South Carolina's announced role was that of fostering poetry within the community. Membership in the Fugitives was on the basis of interest and a shared desire to write; the Poetry Society of South Carolina's membership list, as Frank Durham records in his excellent biography of Du Bose Heyward, was first recruited by

Heyward and Hervey Allen by running through the Charleston telephone directory for a list of hundreds of names.⁴

The Fugitives at no point in their existence enjoyed much community cultural status, even though the magazine was subsidized for awhile by the Nashville Associated Retailers. Allen Tate has written of how, while the Fugitive poets were being "read in the editorial offices of the *Nouvelle Revue Française* in Paris, they were gently ridiculed in the suburbs of Nashville."⁵ The very first issue of *The Fugitive* was chided in the editorial columns of the *Nashville Banner* for a "loss of spontaneity" in its poetry, and the second number was written off in that newspaper as being academic, doomed never to be "either popular or influential until it adopts a more intelligent brand of subjects for its poetical effusions and a more humanely understandable manner of dealing with them."⁶

By contrast, during the first decade of the Poetry Society of South Carolina's existence the editors of both local newspapers served as presidents of the organization. The Poetry Society thought of itself as a community-wide cultural organization. Summing up the Society's contributions in 1928, John Bennett saw the group as having "contributed to the enjoyment of thoughtful life in the community," "maintained a wholesome relationship between the social life of the city and the intellectual life of the time," "assisted to make this community a center of interest to intelligent travel," "attracted to it as a winter haven many persons of distinction," and "helped to place it in the guide-book as a notable center of creative and critical art"—as well as having fostered poetry and inspired writers.⁷

An amusing and telling insight into the difference between the two groups is given in an incident that occurred in 1923, described by Frank Durham in his biography of Heyward. In that year the Poetry Society's Southern Prize of \$100 was awarded to John Crowe Ransom of the Fugitives for his poem "Armageddon." The poem described, with considerable irony and detachment, a meeting between Christ and Antichrist. The customary practice was to print the contest-winning poem in the annual *Year Book*. But members of the Poetry Society's leadership grew worried that publication of so atheistic(!) a poem might cause good Charlestonians to resign in droves. So with Heyward's acquiescence the matter was resolved by bringing out Ransom's poem not in the *Year*

⁴ Frank Durham, *Du Bois Heyward: The Man Who Wrote Porgy* (Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1954), p. 24.

⁵ Allen Tate, Letter to Editor, *The Alumnus*, XXVI, No. 5 (March, 1941), 15; quoted in Cowan, p. 47.

⁶ Cowan, pp. 54, 61.

⁷ *Year Book of the Poetry Society of South Carolina*, 1928, p. 12.

Book but in a little brochure distributed "to such members of the society as express a desire to have it"⁸ One can hardly imagine the members of the Nashville group permitting similar considerations to operate in the editing of *The Fugitive*. The Nashville magazine was a private affair of poets; the *Year Book* of the Poetry Society was a community activity; and there the difference lay.⁹

We see the distinction between the two groups clearly from another perspective when we consider the attitude each took to the South. The Poetry Society of South Carolina was avowedly and proudly Southern in its interests. Its first *Year Book* contained a rebuttal to Mencken's "The Sahara of the Bozart," in which it extolled the South as a place for literature.¹⁰ (By contrast, Allen Tate is said to have carried a copy of Mencken "around under his arm" during his early Nashville years!¹¹) The first book of poems by Heyward and Hervey Allen was entitled *Carolina Chansons* and bore the subtitle of "Legends of the Low Country" (1922). In their preface the two young men pointedly proclaimed that their intention was "to call attention to the literary and artistic values inherent in the South, and to the essentially unique and yet nationally interesting qualities of the Carolina Low County, its landscapes and legends. . . ."¹² Repeatedly the Poetry Society's *Year Books* stressed the importance of using Southern material as subject matter for poetry. "Where is the Southern poet who has adequately done the Carolina coast country?" Henry Bellamann asked in 1930. "One waits for a poet saturated with its past to lift it to a large expression, to give it its vast dignity, its grieving and mournful reality, its pathos and its peculiar solace."¹³

The Fugitives, on the other hand, resented the concept of "Southern" poetry. Its members were, especially during the early 1920s, not so much opposed to the use of the South as self-conscious subject matter for poetry, as simply uninterested in it. Even so, when Harriet Monroe devoted a review to praise of Heyward's and Allen's *Carolina Chansons*

⁸ Durham, pp. 27-28.

⁹ Donald Davidson discusses this point in his *Southern Writers In The Modern World* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1958), pp. 4-5. Ransom was evidently quite unaware of the controversy his poem had caused, and when told of it many years later expressed himself as having been most pleased at the time that his poem had been thought worthy of separate pamphlet publication.

¹⁰ *Year Book*, 1921, pp. 14-16.

¹¹ *Fugitives' Reunion: Conversations at Vanderbilt*, Rob Roy Purdy, ed. (Nashville: Vanderbilt Univ. Press, 1959), p. 92.

¹² DuBose Heyward and Hervey Allen, "Preface" to *Carolina Chansons: Legends of the Low Country* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922), p. 11.

¹³ Henry Bellamann, "The Turn in the Road for Poetry," *Year Book of the Poetry Society of South Carolina*, 1930, p. 9.

for its picturesque use of Southern material,¹⁴ several of the Fugitives felt impelled to protest the notion that Southern poets ought to write poetry about the South. Donald Davidson wrote in *The Fugitive* that many Southern poets "will guffaw at the fiction that the Southern writer of today must embalm and serve up as an ancient dish. They will create from what is nearest and deepest in experience—whether it be old or new, North, South, East, or West—and what business is that of Aunt Harriet's?"¹⁵ As Tate wrote to the acting editor of *Poetry*, the Fugitives "fear very much to have the slightest stress laid upon Southern traditions in literature; we who are Southerners know the fatality of such an attitude—the old atavism and sentimentality are always imminent."¹⁶

It was not until much later in the decade of the 1920s that several of the Fugitives grew consciously interested in the Old South, and their concern culminated in 1930 with the Agrarian symposium entitled *I'll Take My Stand*. Even so there was an essential difference between this book and the writings of the South Carolinians. The Charleston poets strove primarily to *use* Southern themes and Southern subjects in verse. Tate, Ransom, Davidson and Robert Penn Warren grew concerned with what they considered to be the growing abandonment by the South of its manner of life in favor of the industrial and commercial civilization of general America and particularly the Northeast. "What shall we do who have knowledge / Carried to the heart?" Tate's protagonist asked in his "Ode to the Confederate Dead," identifying the plight of the modern Southerner with that of the intellectual man searching for values in an increasingly fragmented and divided world. For the four Fugitive poets who became Agrarians—and Louise Cowan has noted that these were the Fugitives whose dedication to literature was the most uncompromising and complete¹⁷—Southernness was an underlying attitude of mind and heart; for Heyward, Allen and their associates it was considered primarily as subject matter for poetry.

Actually, of course, the South provided both groups of poets with subject matter, but more importantly it made itself felt in the writer's attitude toward language, the way in which he envisioned men and their relationship to nature and to society. It is these qualities that have figured so prominently in the importance that the Southern Literary Renaissance that began in the 1920s holds for our own time, and in which the work of several members of the Nashville group has played so

¹⁴ Harriet Monroe, "The Old South," *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*, XXII, No. 5 (May, 1923), 89-92.

¹⁵ Quoted in Cowan, p. 116.

¹⁶ Letter, Allen Tate to Marjorie Swett, June 22, 1923, quoted in Cowan, p. 116.

¹⁷ *Fugitives' Reunion*, Purdy, ed., p. 218.

important a role. It would be difficult to find lines more markedly "Southern" in attitude and spirit, for example, than those that conclude Ransom's poem "Conrad in Twilight," published long before any of the Fugitives began thinking very much about the South's Agrarian heritage:

Autumn days in our section
Are the most used-up thing on earth
(Or in the waters under the earth)
Having no more color nor predilection
Than cornstalks too wet for the fire,
A ribbon rotting on the byre,
A man's face as weathered as straw
By the summer's flare and winter's flaw.

One might compare these lines with the closing stanza of Du Bose Heyward's poem "Buzzard Island" as published in the *Year Book of the Poetry Society* for 1922:

Beyond these rice-fields and their crawling streams,
Young voices ring; white cities lift and spread.
This is the rookery of still-born dreams;
Here, old faiths gather after they are dead,
Out-lived despairs slant by on evil wing,
And bitter memories that time has starved
Home down the closing dusk for comforting.

Both poems describe a Southern landscape; Heyward's even has a footnote identifying the spot. Both attempt to establish the melancholy aspect of evening in the open fields. The difference is that Heyward's stanza is filled with abstractions, while Ransom's lines are concerned with the concrete evocation of the actual scene itself. Heyward asks us to imagine dreams, faiths, despairs and memories as wild birds; Ransom shows us a place and a man's visage. Ransom's diction, too, is strikingly colloquial and Southern; there are no lines in the Heyward poem comparable to "Autumn days in our section / Are the most used-up thing on earth."

This difference in diction points up perhaps the most crucial distinction between Fugitive poetry and that of the South Carolina Poetry Society. The best poetry of the Nashville writers displays a highly literate, intellectual attitude toward language. It is no accident that all the Fugitive poets were university men, closely associated with Vanderbilt University in Nashville. From the very beginning they were concerned with language, with poetry as a rigorously disciplined craft. Even in the 1920s the leading Fugitives were producing incisive essays in criticism, and the

successive issues of their magazine showed a steadily increasing concern for the formal problems involved in the writing of poetry. They were highly interested in the work of Eliot, I. A. Richards, Pound and other leaders of the new poetry. As noted, Fugitive verse was from the beginning criticized for its "loss of spontaneity," its intellectual qualities. Writing to Tate, one of the Fugitives quoted Ransom as having remarked at a meeting that "it is the Fugitive habit never to name the Thing, to paint all the picture except the central figure";¹⁸ Fugitive poetry must not be sentimental or obvious, it must be intellectual as well as emotional. Around Ransom, Tate, Warren and a Vanderbilt student of a few years later, Cleanth Brooks, there developed in the 1930s a critical approach to poetry in terms of its formal properties of language and paradox that Ransom was to term the New Criticism. In the Fugitive days the interest in diction that led to this was already shaping up. The schism between those Fugitives who held to the "traditional" attitude toward the language of poetry and those who advocated the more intellectual, "modernist" approach (actually, as Tate said, just as "traditional" as the other) developed early in the history of the group; it centered around the concept, championed in particular by Tate, of the "packed line," crowded with dynamic, highly charged imagery.

No such preoccupation with problems of form and technique are recorded in the writings by members of the Poetry Society of South Carolina; of all the little essays and manifestos published in the *Year Books* during the 1920s, not one exhibited any vital concern for what to the Nashville poets was a compelling problem, that of the language of poetry. The South Carolinians wrote little criticism, whether in the *Year Books* or elsewhere. Only occasionally did they discuss in public the matter of poetic diction, and then the occasion was usually one for defending the "traditional" approach. In the *Year Book* for 1926 Josephine Pinckney praised her group's emphasis on local color as having imposed "a concreteness and a gay hue that have crowded out the poetry of abstract ideas, unsuitable to the finest poetry, and alien to the Southern temperament."¹⁹ The next year the *Year Book* linked Ransom and Davidson (not Tate!) with the poetry of Eliot and Pound, and approved John Gould Fletcher's strictures on the intellectual character of such work.²⁰

Curiously enough, when viewed with the perspective of more than thirty years of modern poetry it is the work of the South Carolinians, not the Fugitives, that seems most addicted to the poetry of "abstract ideas." What

¹⁸ Cowan, p. 45.

¹⁹ *Year Book of the Poetry Society of South Carolina, 1926*, pp. 5-6.

²⁰ *Year Book of the Poetry Society of South Carolina, 1927*, pp. 6-7.

could be more abstract in its diction, for example, and less concrete, than the final stanza of Miss Pinckney's poem "Dead Poet" in the 1924 *Year Book*?

Till in the presence of his shielded eyes
Death's dignity had shamed our common sense,
And we confessed his right to being wise
Who now held knowledge of our going hence.

Her poem, to be sure, deals with a dead poet, rather than "poetry," but it is not a particular dead poet so much as a representative of what poets should be. Throughout the poem she is dealing with abstract concepts, ideas. What Miss Pinckney was doing in her strictures on the Fugitive use of abstract ideas in poetry was confusing subject matter with texture and diction. Though the South Carolina poets wrote about concrete subjects such as marshes, houses, people, gardens, islands, waterways, milk boats and the like, the language they used was filled with abstraction. Of all the Charleston poets, it seems to the present writer, only one gave evidence of any compelling interest in the concrete properties of words, and then only sporadically. This was Beatrice Ravenel, who in a poem such as "Humming-Bird" was capable of lines such as these:

The air is of melted glass,
Solid, filling interstices
Of leaves that are spaced on the spines
Like a pattern ground into glass . . .

Miss Ravenel's work is all but forgotten, but she alone of all the better poets of the Poetry Society could sometimes exhibit in her work an occasional concern with the language medium. A poem such as "The Yemassee Lands" represents the South Carolina poetry at its most verbally interesting level; while for Heyward, Allen, Miss Pinckney, Archibald Rutledge, John Bennett the language of poetry must be simple, obvious, immediately intelligible. Their poetry offered no challenge to its readers, no insistence that, as Allen Tate wrote somewhat later, modern poetry must be difficult, since, like sixteenth-century Metaphysical poetry, it "requires of the reader the fullest cooperation of all his intellectual resources, all his knowledge of the world, and all the persistence and alertness that he now thinks only of giving to scientific studies." For Tate, poetry in the twentieth century "must have the direct and *active* participation of a reader who today, because he has been pampered by bad education, expects to lie down and be *passive* when he is reading poetry."²¹

²¹ Allen Tate, "Understanding Modern Poetry," *On The Limits of Poetry* (New York: Swallow Press and William Morrow & Co., 1948), p. 123.

It is not surprising that many of the Charleston poets turned increasingly to popular fiction in the later 1920s and afterward. They were from the start *popular* writers, who directed their work at a wide audience. It should be noted again that not one of the leading South Carolina poets was a university teacher, while all four of the major Fugitive poets turned to the university, where they *taught* literature. If it is true that in our society the university has become almost the only place, except for the very wealthy, that it is possible to make literary activity one's chief professional interest without turning to *popular* literature, then the difference between the Fugitives and the South Carolinians becomes clear. The only one of the Nashville group who ever achieved a large popular audience has been Robert Penn Warren, much later in his career, and his fiction has always enjoyed a strong intellectual, "highbrow" vogue even while being fairly widely read.

Yet intellectual and "highbrow" though the poetry of the Fugitives has often seemed, it too is gradually becoming "popular." A generation of readers has been trained in the techniques of language that Eliot, Pound and the leading Fugitive poets introduced into literature; for this generation the disciplined diction of "modernist" poetry presents no such barriers as once seemed so formidable to those who criticized The Fugitives' poetry for its "loss of spontaneity." As with all revolutions in sensibility, it was necessary for modern poetry to create an audience. Now that audience exists, and the poems of Ransom, Tate and the other Fugitives, once considered so difficult, are read with delight and appreciation.

But that audience, let it be remarked, is not the Southern community to which the poems of the South Carolina Poetry Society were addressed. It is much more of an intellectual, specialized audience than that, and whether affiliated with a university or not, it exists—in Southern cities as well as Northern and Western ones—as a kind of cultural elite, set apart, so far as important aesthetic interests go, from the general, television-watching community. The "dissociation of sensibility" against which some of the Fugitives used to warn in their Agrarian and post-Agrarian phases has to that extent taken place; indeed, the early reception of Fugitive poetry shows that it already existed by the year 1920.

Agrarianism as practiced in Nashville was an attempt to head off the trend toward the fragmented modern community, to protest the abandonment of a social ideal in which, as Ransom wrote, man and nature "seem to live on terms of mutual respect and amity, and his loving arts, religions and philosophies come spontaneously into being."²² The Agrarians

²² John Crowe Ransom, "Reconstructed But Unregenerate," in *Twelve Southerners, I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1930), p. 7.

depicted the Old South at its best as a symbol of such a society. Presumably in this kind of community the high arts would not be limited to a cultivated intellectual minority group but available to all. Ransom has long since abandoned the idea of Agrarianism as a possible way of stemming the tide, and now sees the best hope for the future in "pockets" of culture which, presumably, would eventually broaden their boundaries and encompass the full citizenry. Tate and Warren too, while not adopting Ransom's notion of cultural "pockets" as such, tend in their later writing to regard any hope for renewed cultural "wholeness" as residing within the individual living *in* the industrialized, fragmented society, and working to restore order from within. Tate has envisioned the problem as a religious one, while Warren has seemed to regard it as involving the individual's humane mastery of power. Thus Davidson alone of the four leading Fugitives who became Agrarians has continued to write and think in terms of the South as corrective to contemporary cultural fragmentation.²³

One might look at the contrasting fates of Fugitive and South Carolina poetry and find in it some corroboration for Ransom's diagnosis of cultural "pockets." For the writers of the Poetry Society of South Carolina in the 1920s attempted to deny the growing schism between the high arts and the average citizen of the community, and the result was only impermanent "popular" poetry. By contrast, despite their later protest as Agrarians, the Fugitives never sought to compose their poetry in language that would make it easily available to the Southern community, and as poetry it has lasted very well.

In 1927, surveying the Poetry Society of South Carolina's first seven years of existence, Josephine Pinckney noted the growing controversy over modernism in verse and predicted that "perhaps during the next seven years this society will witness and take part in a greater conflict than it has yet experienced."²⁴ So it did; and in the battle, the forces represented by the Nashville Fugitives and the Poetry Society of South Carolina were arranged on opposite sides so far as the issue of the language of poetry was concerned. Three decades later it was "these new intellectuals" of Nashville, as Miss Pinckney termed them, who proved to have won.

²³ See Ransom's essay, "The Idea of a Literary Anthropologist and What He Might Say of the *Paradise Lost* of Milton," *Kenyon Review*, XXI, No. 1 (Winter, 1959), 121-40, for a statement of his most recent position on the matter. Tate's essays in the volume entitled *The Forlorn Demon* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1958) set forth his views. In *Fugitives' Reunion*, Rob Roy Purdy, ed., there is an interesting statement by Warren on *I'll Take My Stand* as it concerned him (pp. 208-10). Davidson has continued to write extensively on the subject of the South and American society. See *Southern Writers in the Modern World*, *op. cit.*, and several of the essays in *Still Rebels, Still Yankees* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957).

²⁴ *Year Book*, 1927, p. 7.

B. M. STEIGMAN
Late Principal, High School of Music & Art
New York City

Precursor to Lincoln Center

I DID TWICE SEE HYLAN PLAIN—JOHN FRANCIS HYLAN, MAYOR OF NEW YORK, 1917-25. The first time he sat in judgment on the appropriateness of an operatic performance, and the second time he sat in judgment on the appropriateness of a piece of sculpture. Music and art ordinarily were out of bounds for His Honor. His embarrassed decisions in both cases were given after clamant public hearings in the crowded Board of Estimate room of City Hall which I managed, unbidden, to attend. The Mayor's discomfiture (and the hilarious newspaper write-ups that followed) might by now be decently left alone, were it not for his contingent urge to assert his cultural status. For it was in part at least because of that face-saving need that New York came close to having a center for the performing arts thirty years before ground was broken for the Lincoln Center now building.

The operatic fracas he had to face was pitched less on musical than on patriotic grounds: should German opera, should the still hated German language be sung here in 1919, so shortly after the close of World War I, while our hospitals were still filled with wounded American soldiers? On the other hand, isn't music an international language, and how could we have it in our hearts to banish Richard Wagner? Whatever their motive—musical, nostalgic, insurgent or just straight financial—a group of singers calling themselves the Star Opera Company announced that they would give performances of German music at the Lexington Theatre for eight weeks, beginning October 20, 1919. On the afternoon before the opening night the attackers and defenders of the project converged on the Board of Estimate room in City Hall, Mayor Hylan presiding.

When I got in a representative of the Manhattan Naval Post was denouncing Otto Goritz, the director of the opera company, for having flown a German flag over his country place and gloating over the sinking of the "Lusitania." (That was the Goritz who at the Metropolitan Opera House used to sing the role of Alberich—the villain in the Nibelungen Ring who charges against the hero, Siegfried; and it was intriguing to think of him in an actual street brawl that night outside the Lexington

Theatre between the pro- and anti-German partisans, where the weapons were not operatic swords and spears and basso maledictions, but East Side bricks and milk bottles and Bronx cheers.) The Naval Post man was followed by two students from the David Mannes Music School who pleaded for a chance to hear Wagner's music, cited Wagner's hatred of Prussia and his active part in the revolt of 1848. Arguments for and against grew brisk and keen as successive speakers pushed forward to get the floor. I found myself up front and had a close view of Hylan. The cartoonists in the newspapers would lampoon him as part bumpkin, part rogue, with close-set eyes and treacherous mouth. He didn't seem so to me. He was more like a red-colored, heavy-faced, bewildered schoolboy, aware to be sure of being the most powerful one there, the one who had to make the decision, yet beset as if in the classroom with uneasiness, even nervousness, because of the agility of mind and tongue of those about him. I know that kind, since I have taught school. He looked to me as if he had been called on to recite but didn't know the lesson; as if his glances right and left at those nearby sought prompting of the right answer; as if he wished the bell might ring to end the recitation period and save him.

One anti-German speaker concluded as if with a clinching argument: "Your Honor, the Metropolitan keeps German opera out of its repertoire!" Hylan started: "What—repert—? What's that?" An assistant came to his rescue against the tittering in the room by quickly unfolding a petition with 25,000 names against the production of German opera. Hylan got back his ruddy color. Twenty-five thousand votes was an argument he expertly fathomed. "The will of the people—" he began with assurance, and when he was interrupted by the *Heldentenor* of the Star Opera Company who trumpeted a call to him to come to the performance that evening and see for himself how "pjutiful" it was, he blustered back angrily, "I wouldn't go to any opera unless I'm dragged there!" It was the big boy in the classrom, now defiantly shaking off the plaguing question he had been called on to answer. He bounced up, said he'd allow no German opera, and made his escape.

But he must have overheard the remarks audibly made about the state of his culture, and he didn't care to appear an outright barbarian by having the police forcibly put a stop to a performance of music, of apparently cultural music. Those newspaper reporters were there—the things they would write up about him! He sent out a hasty retraction to the effect that he could not locate the Corporation Counsel for a ruling about his right to restrain the opera company, which therefore couldn't be interfered with. The result of the contradictory orders was the battle of Lexington Avenue outside the theater that night as patriots and music lovers

clashed with mutual exchange of barrages of whatever missiles they could lay their hands on. To Hylan's relief the mounted police got into action, and casualties were limited to a few resultant bruises. And to his further relief the Corporation Counsel reported that since a treaty of peace had not as yet been ratified, a state of war still existed between us and Germany, and therefore German opera was likely to cause a breach of peace and should therefore be prohibited. The opera company soon left anyway, their brief stay having been musically and financially disastrous.

Hylan's troubles might then have been over. But the story had been paraded on the front pages, and the hated newspapers continued to have a high time with their comments and cartoons about Hylan stoutly resisting being dragged to the opera, "Red Mike Hylan" stoutly defending New York against an invasion of Teutonic clefs and staves.

It was a couple of years after that that Hylan had to preside at a public hearing on whether Frederick MacMonnies' statue "Civic Virtue" was acceptable aesthetically, symbolically and morally for erection on a pedestal dominating a fountain in front of City Hall. Those had been years of continued harassment of the Mayor, who was as much bewildered as he was pained by the newspapers—the *World*, the *Tribune*, the *Evening Post*, the *Globe*—that seemed so unappreciative of his heroic battle against "The Interests" and "The Mammon Worshippers," in behalf of the honest common people of whom he proudly declared himself to be one. The reporters and columnists degraded him and his high office by constantly referring to him as "Hizzoner" and "The Peepul's Choice" and assailing him as a redheaded ignoramus.

Nastiest of stings, because so unpredictable, were those inflicted by the specialists in art—high art. A number of years had passed since he made his proposal during a World War Liberty Loan drive to further the sale of government bonds by having reproductions of the trenches in France built in Central Park, guns and barbed wires and all. There had been incomprehensible opposition to this by the so-called lovers of beauty, and in a stormy hearing at City Hall Hylan had patriotically shouted that he "would advise the *art-artists* to take a vacation until the war is over." The appellation stuck and had kept plaguing him ever since.

And now these protesters—no doubt minions of the Big Business-controlled press—had stirred up a squabble over a nude piece of sculpture that obviously did not belong in the City Hall park. There had been a controversy about another nude statue by MacMonnies some years before: the "Bacchante," a naked tipsy dancing woman with wine-grapes in one hand and a baby in the other. It had been rejected by Boston's art commission as an insult to American motherhood, but had been welcomed

by the Metropolitan Museum of Art with much to-do about the triumph of art over Philistine ignorance and prudery. Now the blunt question about this naked statue was: are we so lacking in cultural leadership as to have to retrogress to the taste of the hinterland, the moral decrees of the sticks? Hylan often boasted of having been born and reared on a mortgaged farm in a country village in the Catskill Mountains. What should have been a source of pride was being turned by those newspapers into mockery and contempt.

The hearing on "Civic Virtue" in City Hall had been given plentiful advance billing as a promising show, and the Board of Estimate room was packed. Pictures in the newspapers of the MacMonnies work showed "Civic Virtue" to be a burly youth, bare of body except for an uncertain garland or loose wreath about his middle that he seemed to hold on to with one hand ("as if caught with his buttock drapery down and was trying to pull it up again," according to one commentator), while in the other he held a squat sword that rested loosely on his shoulder. His bulging legs were, if not actually stepping on them, certainly inconsiderate of several shapely mermaids that writhed beneath him, intended symbols of civic corruption. He strode through or by them, stolid and unmannerly.

The Mayor was a bit late and I wondered if that wasn't because he dreaded the hearing. It would seem so from the way he entered, cautious and pettishly defensive when he waved to the risen assembly to be seated. At the same time his small, quick, deep-set eyes were shrewdly alert as he scanned the front rows, and his drawling, stumbling voice tried to be aggressively now-what-is-all-this-about.

The opposition spoke first. The head of the National League of Women Voters said the statue degrades woman—who should be placed not below man but by his side to help him purify municipal politics. She was followed by other indignant women: "Maybe those figures at his feet are only half women, that's enough to cast a slur on our sex." "We feel that woman is the best and holiest thing in the world." "You should have a woman suffragist to represent Civic Virtue, to remind us of our victory over the Board of Aldermen." The defenders of MacMonnies were mostly men. The League of American Artists gave assurance of the gallantry of sculptors as a class toward women. Others had this to say: "Temptation is figured here, after all, as only *partly* feminine." "Mermaids are not women. Coming downtown I noticed a billboard showing the devil represented as a man. Should men object to this portrayal?" "Women ought to be proud to know that men consider them tempting." "Those figures are sirens of beauty, virtue and culture, so far as these charms could be embodied in creatures with tails."

Hylan was relieved to find that the discussion of art was turning out

to be on at least an understandable level. Then when someone suggested the statue be sent to Washington where it could represent the Four-Power Treaty standing on the neck of the United States, and others proposed labeling it "The Gas Trust," "The Telephone Trust," "The Interborough," on the neck of New York, he joined in the laughter. But then a protest came from a member of a former art commission: "I object to the placing of a Florentine sculpture group of that overwhelming size in front of so fine an example of Colonial architecture as the City Hall. New York is already notorious for its poorly placed statues such as Karl Bitter's figure on the Pulitzer Fountain in the Fifty-ninth Street Plaza—an immodest laundress bowing dubiously to General Sherman across the way."—That objection was objected to by another art commissioner: "The City Hall is a magnificent example of the Italian Renaissance, and so is a Florentine statue . . ." When that controversy was over Hylan was expected to say something. Those who called him "Honest John" had a point: he looked down at the picture in his hand of the statue, he shook his head: "I don't know much about art but I don't like the looks of this fellow for City Hall Park."

Then a bouncy, motherly woman proposed—and thereby made headlines in all the papers the next day—that instead of having that brute of an undressed gladiator or bullfighter on the pedestal, that would make women have to turn their eyes away when they walked by, we should place there as the most fitting example of civic virtue a statue of the man who adorns City Hall today, Mayor John F. Hylan. There was an outburst of laughter and cheers, Hylan's red face turned scarlet, but he seemed more pleased than embarrassed. It was a happy moment for putting an end to the hearing. In the uproar he could announce without attracting too much attention a decision that the MacMonnies statue should be placed on the pedestal on trial, and the people would then decide if it was to be kept there permanently. It seemed a decision that might safeguard him against those relentless newspaper reporters who had come to bait him whatever decision he made.

The next morning he had to see the front pages announce the "triumph over the art-artists" by Hizzoner, who in the pose of Civic Virtue was proposed to supersede a statue insulting to American womanhood. In the *World* appeared a spread of two pictures of the MacMonnies' mermaid group: in each the naked youth had been replaced by a triumphant Mayor Hylan, in one stripped of clothing and his sturdy body as bare as a 1922 bathing suit permitted, in the other clad in cutaway coat, striped pants and silk hat. The Mayor, it was implied, was all for letting the people do the deciding as to which of the two they preferred as ornament for City Hall.

Hylan had no ambition to have found New York a city of bricks and to leave it a city of marble; he had been re-elected in 1921 with a big plurality, and he ought hardly care therefore what any commentators thought of him. Except for the baffling art problems and such he got to be self-assured, unpleasantly so. He became boastfully, inveterately auto-biographical, kept retelling how he came to the city with \$1.50 in his pocket and his mother's advice to be honest and upright, got a job on the elevated railroad, worked hard and saved his money, returned home to pay off the mortgage and marry the boyhood sweetheart, then back to New York to become a lawyer and battle "The Wall Street Gang," "The Traction Interests," "The Food Trust" ("like an octopus with countless tentacles"). But the uncomfortable demands of culture nagged him. At a budget hearing when library employees petitioned for increased salaries he said, "I have been kept so busy during the last eight years that I have hardly had opportunity to look at a book—not even a novel. But I have begun to read one since primary day and am still reading it." He shook his head when asked the title of the book.

He had few intimate associates, none who could guide him and help him save face; until Philip Berolzheimer appeared, the wealthy head of the Eagle Pencil Company, who sought the role of Maecenas to a perhaps not impossible Augustus to be developed in City Hall. The project of a great Center for the Performing Arts was evolved: it would silence the intolerable critics by an overwhelming evidence of the actuality of the Mayor's cultural interests. Berolzheimer would bring to it his inspiration; the City would provide the funds.

When Hylan awarded the position of City Chamberlain to Berolzheimer, the *New York Times* called it "a lucrative and otiose post" involving "mystic duties." Berolzheimer's forthright predecessor had urged that the position be abolished as unnecessary, and so had the City Controller. Berolzheimer's main concern seems to have been to keep his office from being wiped out, and he found he could depend on his patron Hylan for that. The proposed "Center" would be a fitting expression of his gratitude. Also, in 1920 scores of suggestions were being made for a "Peace Memorial" to honor the soldiers who died in the World War: a bird sanctuary, a triumphal arch, a combined athletic center and comfort station, a captured German submarine, etc. Let the Center for the Performing Arts be that memorial, thereby making it a patriotic as well as cultural tribute to His Honor.

In the main, the project got off to a handsome start. The State Legislature passed a bill empowering the City to acquire a site for the advancement of "music, drama and other arts." There followed a public hearing at City Hall, with kudos for the Mayor; celebrities in numbers in the

fields of music and drama came to ask him to approve of the building of an appropriate "temple," rather a group of temples, for the arts they represented: Otto Kahn, David Belasco, Laurette Taylor, John Drew, Frank Gilmore, William A. Brady among others. Eugene Noble, director of the Juilliard Foundation, spoke in behalf of all: "Make this city the music and art center of the world." The National Academy of Design, the Architectural League, a dozen other organizations had their specific reasons to be enthusiastic about what might be in store for them. There was some heckling: why should the arts be herded into a single extravagant center, what ties bind together grand opera building, art gallery, symphony hall, conservatory, theater? And the bill provided for music, drama *and other arts*; what other arts—like dressmaking and hat designing? Were taxpayers now to support the industries? There was general reassurance of the nobility of purpose of the bill.

A few weeks later an appropriate site for the composite enterprise had been decided on: the greater part of Sixth to Seventh Avenues from 57th to 59th Streets. The Metropolitan Opera House, the central building, was at last to attain the situational and architectural glory of l'Opéra in Paris, at last to be spared the unsightliness and indignity, because of inadequate storage space, of having to have its sidewalk littered with Egyptian temples, Bohemian attics, Valhalla mountain peaks. Arnold W. Brunner, President of the American Institute of Architects, gave a preview of the "Center": the proposed plot was large enough to have open spaces around the individual buildings, with paved plazas and landscaped trees, lawns, flowers. A terrace in front of the opera house would connect it with Central Park by a bridge over 59th Street. West of the Opera, a fine arts building; east, a concert hall of the size of Carnegie Hall and a municipal theater. The style of all buildings was to be "modified and modern adoptions of classic motifs, great simplicity and dignity being the dominant note." Expectations ran high.

The official announcement of all this was made at a dinner Berolzheimer gave at the Waldorf-Astoria in honor of Hylan. The setting became the occasion. Behind the speakers' table a grotto had been built, its darkness meaningfully dispelled by a theatrical summoning of primordial light. Supplementing this and amplifying the motif of emerging enlightenment were surrounding dark boulders over which rainbow-colored waters flowed into a prismatic pool. The 240 guests were seated about an open square-shaped Italian garden stacked with flowers, approached via rustic bridges, graveled walks, dogwood trees in full bloom. The table décor, the music, the service, the menu were in keeping. It was reported to have been the most lavish dinner in the history of New York. It cost Berolzheimer \$25,000. The oratory was keyed to an appropriate level.

Said Berolzheimer: "When these plans have been carried through, Mayor Hylan, you will have made of yourself a benefactor to the citizens of today and of generations to come who will be enabled to lift themselves out of the rut to the realm of lofty attainment and from the grind of unrequited toil to the joy of creative achievement with its presumable higher emolument." Hylan responded: "We are going to minister to the pleasure of the soul, firm in the conviction that therein lies the heart of genuine culture." The newspapers the next morning blazoned the headline: "Mayor Hylan Hailed as Cultural Leader."

The awakening came shortly. The proposed site alone for the "abode of the arts," said the practical appraisers, would cost \$15 million, no, \$20 million, no, \$30 million; where was that to come from, even if some \$20 million additional for the buildings were obtained through popular subscription? The might of business was felt against having "a musical village" built on sound business acres, subject to condemnation proceedings at eventual taxpayers' expense. Other locations were hastily proposed—49th Street to 53rd Street west of Sixth Avenue; then Central Park West between 60th and 62nd Streets at Columbus Avenue (part of the present Lincoln Center); then Riverside Drive at 73rd to 75th Streets. And, finally—why hadn't they thought of it in the first place?—part of Central Park, which of course would cost nothing. Six acres of the Park, facing 59th Street would be just right; the Opera flanked by the allied buildings and surrounded by a series of Versailles-like formal gardens would make Central Park renowned throughout the world, it would be an incomparable war memorial and it would demonstrate democracy's devotion to the fine arts.

What hurt Hylan most was that the people, the common people whose champion he was, joined in the shrill outcries against an "invasion" of Central Park. The original plan of landscape architects Frederick Law Olmstead and Calvert Vaux was to keep the park for park purposes only: "Building can be brought within the business of the Park proper only as it will aid escape from building. When building begins there the Park ends." The City rallied to preserve that purpose. The Citizens Union, the Parks and Playgrounds Association, the State Chamber of Commerce—altogether forty-three roused organizations mobilized. For eighty-five years Central Park had been protected against the dozens of threatened invasions: a model farm, municipal radio station, circus tent, cemetery for distinguished dead, etc.—a total of undertakings that would have more than filled its every acre. Mass meetings were called "to defend the city dweller's substitute for the country, for fields and flowers," and to prevent the inevitable "stunting of the lives of little children"; and

Joyce Kilmer's "Trees" was recited more than ever in the schools. Why let the Metropolitan Opera and Realty Company save annual taxes of \$90,000 at the expense of "the poor who cannot feed their souls at the Opera House?" An editorial concluded that "public sentiment has stood like an angel with the flaming sword at the gates of Eden." As for the proposed "war memorial," the ornate French garden around it was "more appropriate for a view from some lady's boudoir than a memorial of the men who gave their lives to save us from German greed."

Hylan felt crushed by the opposition. And then taunts were revived of his attempt to win credit for himself by advertising the park concerts as "Mayor Hylan's People's Concerts," when these were paid out of public funds. It is possible that the attacks upon him aggravated his illness at this time. But the State Legislature after months of public protest had no desire, as it put it, to "glorify Hylan" by passing the requisite enabling measure for his intended use of park property. Hylan's Central Park "Grab Bill" died in committee in March, 1924. Hylan's determination to have the "Center" created lived on. During the summer a possible site for it was found, even if it had to be way up in the Bronx.

At the dinner Berolzheimer gave the following November in honor of Hylan the humiliation of the defeat was salved by the announcement that the Central Park site had been "temporarily supplanted" by one on the Jerome Park Reservoir tract adjoining Van Cortlandt Park. As if this was a goal happily attained, Berolzheimer again had the Waldorf-Astoria banquet hall made festive, though for a more intimate affair—the cost only \$9,000, the guests numbering only 150. The whole idea of an Art Center seemed to have been correspondingly reduced in scope: it was really to be a great educational enterprise, a great music and art high school. Perhaps Hylan and Berolzheimer felt the new location was too distant for the original purpose; perhaps they welcomed an escape from their midtown denouncers; perhaps the project of a school would restore to them the common people's good will; perhaps the money for the buildings could be wangled from the Board of Education, and so relieve them of that embarrassing problem. At the dinner this new project was given grandiose welcome. It would really be a "national conservatory" for music, dance and drama. The new location offered two hundred splendid acres, instead of the rather cramped six acres in Central Park, permitting therefore of vast expansion. There could now be built a huge stadium, an auditorium, gymnasium, library, exhibition halls, individual music and art buildings, modeled on Greek architecture, connected by colonnades. The banquet oratory was again suitably exalted. Hylan: "Where the spark of creative ability glows, however fitfully, we should be prepared to blow upon it." Berolzheimer: "If we produce but one genius such as Bach we shall be compensated."

(There would be enough students anyway to draw upon: the buildings would accommodate twenty-five thousand boys and girls of high school age, taking "a full course of training of from seven to eight years"!) The dinner ended with a lofty transaction; a handsome academic gown was wrapped about Hylan's shoulders, a mortarboard placed upon his head. A ruddy glow suffusing his triumphant face, the Mayor said, "Music and the arts at one time were the privileges of the wealthy, now thousands upon thousands of the talented poor will have their day."

Among those present sat Fiorello LaGuardia, who must have appraised the show with a canny eye. As Mayor of New York twelve years later, in 1936, he had the High School of Music and Art established, modestly assigned to a vacated school-building on the City College campus, realistically admitting each year some five hundred gifted teenagers. He wanted it in part to be preparatory for a city center for instrumental and operatic music, dance and drama. Looking about him he found the old Mecca Temple on 55th Street, taxridden, opportunely available. He had it dusted off, aired out and refurbished and in 1943 he had it opened up as The City Center of Music and Drama, Inc. LaGuardia's appearance at the Hylan dinner will not be mistaken for a stooping of his fiery spirit to unseemly levels, though his presence there may not have been purely coincidental.

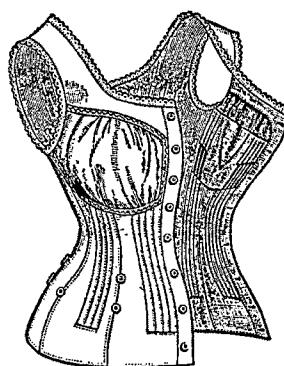
The realities became apparent too to Hylan with the shedding of the academic gown. The twenty-five thousand young beneficiaries of his project were not to be there just to play music and paint. Berolzheimer reported the very next day that the great new school was to be called the Music and Industrial Arts High School. The subjects taught there would include costume designing and cutting, textile manufacturing, dyeing and marketing, wallpaper designing, jewelry and printing. It was now to be, according to Berolzheimer, "the greatest educational center in the world for the masses"; and it was to have representatives of the leading trades as an advisory board. Perhaps it was that the Pierian intoxication had worn off, or that there just wasn't any money available for the fancy venture in the higher arts, or that it was just that Hylan's hoped-for re-election a second time in 1925 was less than a year off, and he reconsidered where the votes really were. Get the school started! became his impatient plea. Ground was to be broken in spring, when his election campaign was to start.

The announcement about the Music and Industrial Arts High School made one thing clear. "There will be no attempt to teach painting and sculpture; all energy will be concentrated on the applied arts . . . Why shouldn't beauty and utility go hand in hand?" A dozen years had passed

since the Armory Show of 1913, its disreputable, incomprehensible notions were taking hold, it would hardly do to have the abstract art of the art-artists actually encouraged at the expense of common-sense tax-paying voters.

One art form, however, well merited consideration by the greatest educational center in the world for the masses. Mary Pickford and D. W. Griffith called on Berolzheimer. Said Mary Pickford, "America's Sweetheart": "It has been the dream of my life that a great university should be developed to give our youth the best opportunity for education in the matter of motion pictures. Had I such an opportunity when I began as a child it would have made my career much quicker and more easily attained." And D. W. Griffith said: "Furthermore, the motion picture theatre is the poor man's friend, and what better could the City of New York do than to create in this Art Center a building that would have in its curriculum the development of this art which we are trying so hard to further." Berolzheimer was so impressed that he rushed with his guests from his office in the Municipal Building across the street to City Hall to get Hylan's approval at once. D. W. Griffith delivered himself of a clinching argument: the proposed motion picture university not only would serve the advancement of the art of the cinema, but would offer an education "relieved of the tedium of the ordinary cultural courses."

There is no record of Hylan's reply to this. His disastrous 1925 campaign put an end to his hopes for "the greatest educational center in the world," alias "Center for the Performing Arts." The following year the Jerome Reservoir tract was appropriated in part by the Board of Education for two traditional schools, in part by the Board of Transportation for a car storage yard.



ROBERT L. WHITE
University of Kentucky

Washington Allston: Banditti in Arcadia

WASHINGTON ALLSTON, WHO WAS, IN THE OPINION OF EDGAR P. RICHARDSON, "our first full-scale romantic artist,"¹ was also one of the early scouts of the ever-swelling wave of Americans who responded to the potent fascination which Italy possessed during the nineteenth century; he was, moreover, the first American artist to paint the Italian landscape and the first to make extended use of identifiable Italianate motifs and themes.² Allston did not merely paint the Italian landscape, however; he also depicted Italy in fiction, and his *Monaldi, a Tale* was one of the first of the many books which Americans have been impelled to write about Italy. *Monaldi* is in no way a good book, but any one who bothers to read it must immediately be struck by the fact that the image of Italy to be discerned in this wildly Gothic romance is not at all in tune with the image of Italy apparent in his paintings. The Italy of his paintings is an Arcadia, a land of beauty and grace; the Italy of his romance is a land corrupt and festering beneath a mask of beauty.

The opposed images of Italy to be discerned in Allston's painting and fiction are not unique, for the preponderant majority of Americans who visited Italy had mixed reactions to the charm of the peninsula; it is unusual, however, to find this ambivalence so neatly exemplified in the creative work of one artist—one who was both painter and writer. And it is significant that the double attitudes are clearly marked in the work

¹ Edgar P. Richardson, *Washington Allston* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 5. Richardson makes a claim for Allston's pioneering significance only in the field of the plastic arts, but, if the efforts of Freneau and C. B. Brown are discounted, he may even be viewed as the first genuine American romantic to appear in any of the arts.

² Although Benjamin West and John Copley had preceded Allston, their sojourns in Italy did not lead them to paint the Italian landscape and they were not moved to the depiction of specifically Italianate subject matter. For Allston, the culminating episode in the development of his romantic sensibility and "his way of seeing" was his four-year stay in Italy (Richardson, p. 67); Italy had no such impact upon West and Copley.

of one of the first Americans to visit Italy. Allston's paintings of the Italian landscape did much to shape one aspect of the American image of Italy. His romance was not so influential, but it foreshadowed the image of Italy to be seen in the fiction of such authors as Hawthorne and the early Howells. An examination of the ways in which Allston's four-year sojourn in Italy was refracted in his paintings and in his writings will do more than provide a comment upon Allston; it will also help to illuminate the general response of nineteenth-century Americans to Italy, and the particular responses of American romantic painters and writers.

Allston's interest in things Italian seems to have begun while he was yet a student at Harvard College. While there, he read enthusiastically the English Gothic romancers and the German romantic playwrights; he was also fascinated by copies—poor as they were—of Italian baroque art that were to be found in some of the Boston and Cambridge households. Allston's first landscape in oil was a "Mount Vesuvius" copied from an old painting, and while yet a student he painted scenes from *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, from Schiller's *The Robbers* and *Barbarossa*, and from Coleman's *The Mountaineers*. Richardson, who remarked that Allston's earliest landscapes were "formed by baroque examples," observed also that they were peopled with figures "derived from Italian landscapes."³ Allston himself, in later life, confessed that during his college days and for some time after his "favorite subjects were banditti." Looking back on his student days, he wryly noted, "I well remember one of these, where I thought I had happily succeeded in cutting a throat. The subject of this precious performance was robbers fighting with each other for the spoils, over the body of a murdered traveller. And clever ruffians I thought them. I did not get rid of this banditti mania until I had been over a year in England."⁴

Although Allston's interest in the more *outré* aspects of the "banditti mania" abated during the three years that lapsed between his arrival in London and his journey to Italy, he continued to be affected by the vogue for Salvator Rosa and his fascination with Italy grew apace. One of the products of his London years was "A Rocky Coast with Banditti" and another was a poetic landscape clearly revealing the "strong influence of Salvator Rosa" in its picturesque foreground figures and in the misty turbulence of the background sky and mountains.⁵ After two years of

³ Richardson, pp. 31-32.

⁴ William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (2 vols.; New York, 1834), II, 156.

⁵ Richardson, p. 188.

study in London, Allston traveled through France and Switzerland to Italy. He stopped in Paris for some time to relish Napoleon's recently-assembled artistic spoils in the Louvre and there he immediately lost his heart to the masters of the Italian high renaissance, particularly to the Venetian colorists. Years later, he wrote to Dunlap:

Titian, Tintoret [sic], and Paul Veronese absolutely enchanted me, for they took away all sense of subject. When I stood before the Peter Martyr, the Miracle of the Slave, and the marriage of Cana, I thought of nothing but of the *gorgeous concert of colours*, or rather of the indefinite forms . . . of pleasure with which they filled the imagination. It was the poetry of color which I felt. . . . They addressed themselves not to the senses merely, as some have supposed, but rather through them to that region . . . of the imagination which is supposed to be under the exclusive domination of music, and which, by similar excitement, they caused to teem with visions that 'lap the soul in Elysium.'⁶

Crossing the Alps into Italy, Allston was also as deeply thrilled by "the sublime scenery of Switzerland"⁷ but Allston was no Turner, and the Alpine landscape was not to be absorbed and utilized as one of the chief subjects of his brush. The Italian landscape, however, was to assume such a role in his art.

Allston was in Italy from the spring of 1804 to the spring of 1808. He spent most of his time in and about Rome, but he stayed in Siena for a while to perfect his knowledge of Italian and he seems to have passed some months in Florence. Allusions to the bay of Naples in *Monaldi* might indicate that Allston had journied that far south, but, for the most part, his experience of the Italian landscape was confined to the central spur of the Apennines and to the hills and countryside about Rome, and his intimate knowledge of Italy was chiefly the result of his experiences in the Eternal City.

Although Allston left some record of his reaction to the art treasures to be found in Rome (he was equally moved by the "sublimity" of Michelangelo and the "sweetness" of Raphael, and he was spellbound by the vision of the Apollo Belvedere⁸), there unfortunately remains no immediate record of his sojourn in Italy and of his reactions to the Italian scene and Italian society. More than thirty years after he had departed

⁶ Dunlap, II, 162-63.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 165.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 166; see also Allston's *Lectures on Art, and Poems*, ed. R. H. Dana Jr. (New York, 1850), pp. 100, 132-42.

from Italy, he wrote the young sculptor John Cogdell to congratulate him on his "present project of visiting Italy." Allston had no doubt that "the new spring it will give both to your mind and constitution will add many years to your life" and he promised: "the glowing works of art by which you will be surrounded in Rome—they will breathe new life into you. Even at this distance of time I live upon them in memory. In that 'Silent City,' as my friend Coleridge used to call it, were some of my happiest dreams."⁹ Allston also remembered the sweetness of his Roman friendship with the young Coleridge when he wrote to Dunlap. He spoke of his great intellectual debt to the English poet and went on to say, "When I recall some of our walks under the pines of the Villa Borghese, I am almost tempted to dream that I had once listened to Plato, in the groves of the Academy."¹⁰

A more detailed picture of such strolls in the Roman gardens, of wanderings through the Roman galleries, of long conversations amidst the Roman ruins and beneath Italian skies, has been bequeathed by Washington Irving, who met Allston in Rome in 1805 and who sought out the young painter's tutorship in matters pertaining to the fine arts. For the sketch of Allston in the Duyckincks' *Cyclopedie of American Literature*, Irving contributed an essay in which he described the friendship of the two young Americans in Rome and revealed how he, inspired with Allston's enthusiasm, even toyed with the notion of becoming a painter himself:

We had delightful rambles together about Rome and its environs, one of which came near changing my whole course of life. We had been visiting a stately villa, with its gallery of paintings, its marble halls, its terraced gardens set out with statues and fountains, and were returning to Rome about sunset. The blandness of the air, the serenity of the sky, the transparent purity of the atmosphere, and that nameless charm which hangs about an Italian landscape, had derived additional effect from being enjoyed in company with Allston, and pointed out by him with the enthusiasm of an artist. As I listened to him, and gazed upon the landscape, I drew in my mind a contrast between our different pursuits and prospects. . . . Suddenly the thought presented itself, 'Why might I not remain here and turn painter?' *

According to Irving, Allston enthusiastically endorsed the suggestion and offered to be his instructor in painting. Irving, however, soon decided

⁹ Quoted in Jared B. Flagg, *The Life and Letters of Washington Allston* (New York, 1892), p. 319.

¹⁰ Dunlap, II, 167.

to abandon the prospect of a career in the fine arts, recognizing that it "owed its main force to the lovely evening ramble in which [he] had first conceived it, and to the romantic friendship [he] had formed with Allston. Whenever it recurred to mind, it was always connected with beautiful Italian scenery, palaces, and statues, and fountains, and terraced gardens, and Allston as the companion of [his] studio."¹¹ Irving was an old man when he set down his reminiscences of his stay in Rome, but it is significant that his undoubtedly idealized account of his companionship with Allston is remarkably in tune with one of the two images of Italy in Allston's art.

Although Allston left almost no written account of his experiences in Italy, he recurrently transcribed to canvas his impressions of the land. He began a series of landscapes of Swiss and Italian scenery immediately upon his arrival in Rome and he painted the Italian landscape again and again during the long succession of years that followed his youthful departure from Italy. He also frequently painted such romantic figures as an "Italian Shepherd Boy" and "A Tuscan Girl," and he was ever attracted to Italianate subjects, such as "The Flight of Florimell," "Lorenzo and Jessica" and "Spalatro's Vision of the Bloody Hand," which he derived from English literature. In Dana and Richardson's catalogue of Allston's work, thirty-six of the one hundred and sixteen entries dated subsequent to Allston's arrival in Italy may be identified as landscapes of Italian scenery or as canvases with Italianate subject matter. If one were to classify as Italianate Allston's several historical paintings of subjects from Roman and early Christian history, the proportion would rise to almost fifty per cent.

By far the greatest number of Allston's Italian landscapes and paintings of Italianate subjects were composed years after he had last watched the sun set over the Tyrrhenian Sea and last strolled through the Borghese gardens. The "Italian Landscape" painted early during Allston's stay in Rome, however, is not markedly different from another "Italian Landscape" painted in New England some twenty-five years later. (See Figs. 1 and 2) Both are composed in the same baroque fashion—with a slightly asymmetrical tree holding down the vertical axis of the painting, with shimmering water in the near foreground and an arched bridge transecting the canvas horizontally, and with a misty mountain rising in the background—and the foreground of each painting is humanized by a group of picturesque figures. The later work is a better painting, less cluttered with architectural decorations and more tightly organized,

¹¹ Evert and George Duyckinck, *Cyclopedia of American Literature* (2 vols.; New York, 1855), II, 15.

the brush work is looser and freer, and the atmosphere of the painting is calmer and less immediate; but the image of Italy presented in the two landscapes is basically the same: the Italy of Allston's landscapes is a pleasantly civilized Arcadia. It is an ideal land only tenuously anchored to earth by the architectural remains of antiquity and the renaissance, and its inhabitants are picturesque and graceful figures pleasantly in tune with the calm and dissolving atmosphere that encloses them.

Allston's canvases are, of course, descended from the late baroque landscapes of such artists as Salvator Rosa, Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain; but Allston brought to the long tradition of the classical landscape his own personal sensibility, and his landscapes are hardly static echoes of the visions of former artists. As Richardson points out, Allston's landscapes are not coloristic records of Italian scenery, but ideal compositions which grow out of "an imaginative reverie upon the grandeur and the loveliness of nature. The images of nature are freely recombined and fused so that they represent his whole imaginative experience."¹² Richardson describes the early "Italian Landscape" as a painting with "two imaginative themes, the grandeur of the Roman landscape and the sensation of the past," and he points out how Allston "saw the Roman landscape as a window opening from the present into time and mingled the Tiber, the Alban Hills, the plain, the splendor of antiquity, the medieval pilgrim, and the timeless pastoral simplicities of Italian peasant life all in one calm image."¹³ To Richardson's adjective "calm" I would add "idyllic" and "delightful." Allston's image of Italy is all of these; it projects a land that does not exist, but a land in which it would be most pleasant to live.

Since "Allston's art was an art of memory,"¹⁴ inasmuch as even the Italian landscapes produced in Rome were the products of reverie rather than direct vision, he was able to draw upon the stored-up capital of his Italian experiences long after he had quitted Rome for the last time. With but one exception (the depiction of a scene from Mrs. Radcliffe's *The Italian*), all of Allston's later "reveries" upon Italianate subjects and the Italian landscape expatiate upon the double theme of the grandeur and beauty of an essentially visionary landscape and of the sweetness and tranquility of life within that landscape. It is true that the renderings of Italy which formed on Allston's canvases during the latter part of his life are tinged with an element of mystery and are colored by a gentle melancholy, but these later paintings are essentially refinements of the idyllic vision of Italy which he imaginatively glimpsed during

¹² Richardson, p. 69.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 147.



Fig. 1. "Italian Landscape" by Washington Allston (c. 1815)
(Courtesy Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy,



Fig. 2. "Italian Landscape" by Washington Allston (c. 1830)
(Courtesy Detroit Institute of Arts)

his four years at Rome. In these paintings, Allston's youthful taste for banditti has vanished totally. The only evidence of violence within the landscape sighs from the hallowed remains of fallen columns; a deep hush breathes from the skies and the figures within the landscape meditate upon the stillness and listen to the murmur of rustling waters and the far-off sound of music.

This mood is already evident in the several Italianate paintings which Allston finished in Boston just after his return from his final period of residence in London. In 1819, he painted a "Moonlight Landscape" in which the splendor of a full moon outlines the arches of a low bridge, illuminates the ridges of distant mountains, casts into silhouette the sails of a boat and a mysterious group of foreground figures, and softly discloses cloud forms drifting in a placid sky. Among other canvases of the same year was an "Italian Shepherd Boy" which is both a figure of ideal grace and a personification of the quiet beauty of the forest landscape that encloses him. Two years later, he placed the picturesque figure of another youthful and meditative shepherd in the foreground of "Landscape, Evening," a canvas which leads the spectator's eye past the sun-dappled figure of the seated shepherd, down a shadowy lane winding through tall Italian stone pines, across a gleam of water and on toward a misty horizon where barely defined towers rise from the spur of a hill.

This tone of imaginative reverie is measurably heightened, while at the same time it is definably softened, in the Italianate canvases of Allston's last decade. In the "Lorenzo and Jessica" of 1832, Shakespeare's lovers sit pensively upon the flower strewn bank, handsome and at ease, while a baroque façade rises in back of them and a dome and tower loom into a tranquil sunset. "The Evening Hymn," painted in 1835, Allston's last extant and dated composition with an Italianate theme, resembles the "Italian Landscape" of about 1830 in that it too links music with a classic landscape. Amidst fragments of fallen cornices and seated before the crumbling façade of a temple, a handsome young woman fingers a guitar and looks wistfully into space. In the background rise the shadowy outlines of free-standing columns, and the sunset glow falls through a gap in a range of hills. The painting invokes the melancholy of the "ruins of time," but the young woman is aloof from the shards upon which she is seated, and her face is bathed in an aura of beauty and tranquility. Allston's last imaginative evocation of the sense of Italy insists upon the splendor of antiquity, the grandeur and beauty of the Italian landscape, the quiet deliciousness of its tranquil atmosphere and the grace and loveliness of its picturesque inhabitants. It is one more restatement of Allston's original idyllic vision of Italy; the painting pro-

vides a quiet coda to the long elaboration of the image of Italy which first came to him when he and Coleridge and Irving lingered in the Roman gardens and strolled rapturously through the galleries of the Vatican.

I have stressed the idyllic and Arcadian aspects of the image of Italy to be discerned in Allston's paintings for two reasons: first, Allston's idyllic vision of Italy sets the pattern of *painterly* reaction for practically every one of the swarm of American painters who flocked to Italy during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century; second, and more important, Allston's plastic image of Italy as a tranquil and blessed Arcadia is at odds with the image to be found in the fictional and poetic transformations of Italy produced by the great majority of the American romantic writers who discovered thematic significance in the Italian landscape, Italian history, Italian society and in the contrasts between Italy and America. In brief, it may be said that the American painters who visited Italy during the first two-thirds of the century repeated over and over, with varying degrees of skill, Allston's vision of Italy as a calm and picturesque land of ideal beauty and grace; American writers, however, constructed an image of Italy as a land beset with violence, insanity and unspeakable moral corruption. Not many American writers denied the beauty of the Italian landscape, but the beauty of Italy was dramatized as a treacherous mask for the unwholesome spell lurking beneath the surface. So pervasive was the pattern of this dual and ambiguous reaction that even so Italophobic a painter as S. F. B. Morse could but repeat the idyllic image of Italy upon his canvases, and so ardent a lover of Italy as William Wetmore Story was unwittingly attracted to the violent and corrupt image of Italy in his poetry and fiction. But the ambivalence and ambiguity of the conflicting images of Italy to be discerned in American romantic painting and American romantic literature are nowhere more neatly dramatized than in the artistic career of Washington Allston.¹⁵

When writing to Dunlap, Allston had disparaged his youthful en-

¹⁵ There are but few exceptions to the generalizations which I have outlined above. Of the writers, two stand out: James Fenimore Cooper and Henry Theodore Tuckerman. Among the painters of the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century, only William Page and Elihu Vedder may be said not to follow in Allston's footsteps. As yet, there is no adequate account of American fascination with Italy during the nineteenth century. Van Wyck Brooks's *The Dream of Arcadia* (New York, 1958) is surpassed in many respects by accounts by two Italian scholars: Giuseppe Prezzolini's *Come gli Americani scoprirono l'Italia* (Milano, 1933) and Angelina La Piana's *La cultura americana e l'Italia* (Torino, 1938). For general discussion of American artists in Italy, see Otto Wittman Jr., "The Italian Experience (American Artists in Italy, 1830-1875)," *American Quarterly*, IV (1952), 3-15; and Oliver W. Larkin, "Two Yankee Painters in Italy: Thomas Cole and Samuel Morse," *American Quarterly*, V (1953), 195-200.

thusiasm for introducing banditti into his compositions, and his mature canvases disclose no groups of Salvatoresque ruffians; but the Duyckincks reported that his conversations in Cambridgeport were often enlivened by "wild tales of Italian banditti."¹⁶ One might be inclined to doubt the trustworthiness of the Duyckincks' informants if it were not for the fact that *Monaldi* certainly exhibits a continuing relish for banditti. The tale was originally written for serial publication in Richard Henry Dana's *The Idle Man*, but the collapse of the miscellany (in 1822) postponed its appearance for almost two decades. When *Monaldi* was eventually published in book form in 1841, Allston explained that he did not offer it to his readers "with the pretensions of a Novel, but simply as a Tale."¹⁷ Ten years later, Hawthorne was to defend the fictional genre of the "romance" against the claims of the novel, but Allston must have felt it necessary to depreciate the publication of a Gothic tale at a time when the popularity of the form was waning. For *Monaldi* is modeled directly upon Mrs. Radcliffe's and W. G. Lewis' tales of violence and horror.

The popularity of Italy as a locale for the Gothic novels and of Italians as Gothic villains undoubtedly had as much to do with Allston's selection of Italy as a setting for his tale as did the fact that he had resided in Italy; at any rate, it is certain that the Italy of *Monaldi* bears a closer resemblance to the cloudland of *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and *The Italian* than it does to the actual Italy of the end of the eighteenth century. And it is as readily apparent that the Italy of *Monaldi* is neither the Italy of Allston's and Irving's and Coleridge's strolls through the Roman gardens nor the placid and serene country of Allston's landscapes. Actually, in spite of Allston's proficiency as a painter, there is but little pictorial description of Italy in the novel; what little there is, however, runs directly counter to the image of Italy which is formulated in his landscapes. The most lengthy descriptive passage in the tale provides a panoramic view of Rome, but the passage evokes an image of oppressive heat and nerve-jangling tension that has nothing in common with the idealized vision of Allston's Italian landscapes; instead, it surprisingly calls to mind Corot's early sketches of the Italian countryside:

The apartment being in an upper story, and the house somewhat elevated, commanded an extensive view of the southern portion of the city, overlooking the Campo Vaccino, once the ancient forum, with its surrounding ruins, and taking in a part of the Coliseum. The air was hot and close, and there was a thin, yellow haze over the distance

¹⁶ Duyckincks, II, 14.

¹⁷ Washington Allston, *Monaldi, a Tale* (Boston, 1841), p. [5].

like that which precedes the scirocco, but the nearer objects were clear and distinct, and so bright that the eye could hardly rest on them without quivering, especially on the modern buildings, with their huge sweep of whitened walls, and their red-tiled roofs, that lay burning in the sun, while the sharp, black shadows, which here and there seemed to indent the dazzling masses, might almost have been fancied the cindertracks of his fire.¹⁸

The two other extended verbal landscapes in the tale, both of which are awkward efforts to convey something of the tensions within the soul of the Byronic villain of the piece, are similar in character. The first of these depicts a violently gorgeous sunset viewed from a bridge over the Tiber:

The sun was yet up, and resting on the highest peak of a ridge of mountain-shaped clouds, that seemed to make a part of the distance; suddenly he disappeared, and the landscape was overspread with a cold, lurid hue; then, as if molten in a furnace, the fictitious mountains began to glow; in a moment more they tumbled asunder; in another he was seen again, piercing their fragments, and darting his shafts to the remotest east, till, reaching the horizon, he appeared to recall them, and with a parting flash to wrap the whole heavens in flame.

With the sun's departure, the villain, Maldura, finds a "desolate vacancy now spread over him." He turns his gaze from the heavens and stares down upon the river. And the Tiber becomes a mirror for his own black soul: "he seemed to lose himself in the deepening gloom of the scene, till the black river that moved beneath him appeared almost a part of his mind, and its imageless waters but the visible current of his own dark thoughts."¹⁹ In the other passage, Maldura is standing above the bay of Naples. Gnawed by remorse for his crimes, he turns away from the beauty of the scene (which Allston does not detail, remarking that it is "not to be painted by words") and looks toward Vesuvius: "But even from that he shrank; for the terrible Vesuvius was now smiling in purple, and reposing beneath his pillar of smoke as under a gorgeous canopy: the very type of himself—gay and peaceful without, yet restless and racked with fire within."²⁰ This notion of the violence lurking beneath the smiling exterior of the Italian landscape (and of Italians) was not unique with Allston, of course; its significance lies in its total departure from the peaceful and calm image of Italy to be found in his romantic landscapes.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-40.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

To be sure, I have pieced out this sketch of a violent and luridly beautiful Italy from but a few scraps of verbal description, but such an image is wholly in keeping with the narrative action of the tale. The pathetic story of Monaldi, a modern Italian artist, is uncovered and reported by an American traveler who takes refuge in a monastery from a suspected bandit ambush. Approaching the monastery, he comes across an old madman whose aspect terrifies him; later, within the walls of the monastery, he is shown a frightening portrait of Satan enthroned in dark majesty and of a human being writhing in anguish before the throne. The traveler is appalled and fascinated by the remarkable painting, and the prior permits him to peruse a manuscript which reveals that it is the work of the insane wretch he had observed living in the nearby hovel. The madman is Monaldi, who was once the chief artist of Italy, and the manuscript gives the story of his sorrowful downfall.

At the University of Bologna, Monaldi becomes the great friend of a fellow student, Maldura. Maldura is proud and superior; Monaldi, humble and affectionate. Both have high ambitions, Maldura wishing to excel as a poet and Monaldi desirous of fame as a painter. After the two youths leave school, their paths diverge. Maldura's great expectations are dashed when his poetic and dramatic productions are satirized and hooted off the stage and when a beautiful young woman refuses his offer of marriage. Monaldi, on the other hand, slowly rises to eminence and ultimately wins the love of the young maiden who had previously spurned Maldura. When Maldura, who has become a recluse and a misanthrope, learns of Monaldi's success in art and love, he dedicates himself to the destruction of his friend's happiness. He enlists the aid of Fialto, a notorious highwayman and libertine, and this latter villain rigs appearances so that Monaldi suspects his wife of infidelity. Maddened by jealousy, he stabs the wife who has remained true to him. The wife survives, but Monaldi flees thinking he has slain her. After many years, the now remorseful Maldura discovers Monaldi on the slopes of Vesuvius and nurses him to a perilous balance of health and sanity. Maldura brings the still-faithful wife to Naples, but Monaldi's reason breaks down for good, just before he is to see his wife once again, when Maldura informs him that his agonies and terrors have been effected by the man he thought his best friend. Monaldi's last vestige of sanity is now wiped out (he, of course, returns to reason on his deathbed and enjoys a pitiful reunion with his wife); all attempts of his wife and Maldura to make him whole again are useless. In this state, he paints his portrait of the King of Hell and eventually flees to a hut in the wilds of Abruzzi. It is here that the American traveler comes upon him, learns his story, and watches over his deathbed.

Such an Italian tale is radically different from Allston's calm and placid Italian landscapes. It emphasizes and wallows in libertinism, treachery, bloodshed and madness. It portrays the Italian character as sensual, unstable, misanthropic and irreligious. Allston has more than scant admiration for Monaldi's artistic gifts and sympathetic personality, but he remarks that the root of his tragedy was his lack of "RELIGION: the only unchanging source of moral harmony. . . . Not that he was wholly without religion; . . . but he wanted that vital faith which mingles with every thought and foreruns every action, ever looking through time to their fruits in eternity."²¹ Allston does not openly set himself up as a critic of Catholicism, and Monaldi's wife, Rosalia, does seem to possess this viable sort of religion, but the tale does suggest a strong disapproval of Catholicism.

If Monaldi is insufficiently religious, the two villains of the piece are wholly irreligious; and, while I would not wish to push the point overmuch, the portraits of Maldura and Fialto largely establish the reader's notions of Italian character. Maldura is not quite so deep-dyed a villain as is Fialto. The frustrated poet is a brooding and melancholic misanthrope, and his one motive in life, after the collapse of his ambitions, is revenge upon the world that has not given him what he thinks is his due. He wanders about Rome in the gloom of night and is addicted to haunting the "desolate baths of Caracalla. . . . he would often spend whole days and nights there, sometimes sitting in dark recesses, and given up to misery, and sometimes wandering to and fro, as if inhaling a kind of savage refreshment from walking over the wreck of prouder piles than his own."²² Maldura first encounters Fialto in a spot even more desolate than the ruins of the baths—in the mountains near Radicofani. Fialto waylays him and takes his purse, but Maldura coolly proceeds to hire him as the agent of his revenge upon Monaldi, even though (and because) he knows of his dangerous reputation. Fialto is dashing and rakish. His adventurous exploits and his skill with the stiletto have given him a reputation which is enhanced by stories of his amorous escapades: "the fascination of Fialto was not confined to listeners of his own sex. . . . No woman, it was said, could withstand the witchery of his eye."²³

Fialto is most renowned and dreaded for his seduction of a nun, whom he has persuaded to share his outlaw life. When Maldura goes with Fialto to the bandit's mountain hangout, he meets the seduced nun, and

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 74.

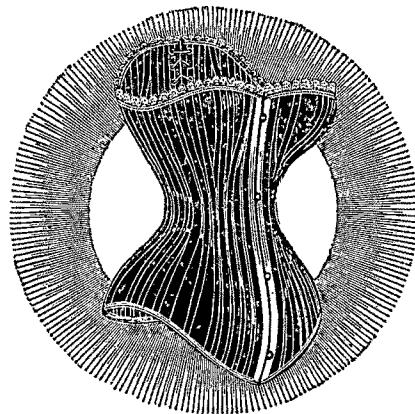
²³ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

I shall close my discussion of Allston's artistic transformations of Italy with his description of her ravaged beauty:

She stood near the entrance holding a lamp, and as the light fell upon her large dark eyes, it gave them a brightness so fearfully contrasting with her other livid, shrunk features, that he had never beheld so strange a mixture of life and death. . . . Though her form was wasted, her features shrunk and wrinkled, and her hair prematurely gray, the traces of her former beauty were still too visible to leave a doubt that she had once been lovely.²⁴

The seduced nun is obviously derived from the Bleeding Nun of Monk Lewis; but, in spite of her "Gothic" heritage, she is (with her admixture of life and death, beauty and corruption) an excellent symbol of the charming and corrupted Italy that lured and repelled several generations of American travelers who followed on the path of Allston's pilgrimage.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 115.



CHARLES O'DONNELL
University of Michigan

Progress and Property: The Later Cooper

IN THE ANTI-RENT TRILOGY AND *The Crater*, ALL PUBLISHED BETWEEN 1845 and 1847, Cooper, becoming increasingly pessimistic about the future of civilized man, follows to their logical despairing conclusion all the social and political ideas of his earlier work. Cooper was essentially a social conservative.¹ I think it is safe to say that he did not believe in progress, if by progress is meant the advancement of man toward an achievable perfection. He might say that the past shows man's tendency to corrupt everything good, and the issue of the future is still undecided. He admitted improvement; he recognized the inevitability of change; but he would stop short of progress.

Cooper dreamed of an agrarian society governed according to high principles by a class of gentlemen.² It was to be hoped that after periods of settlement and competition, "virtue and talent" would win out in the new civilization. But, as Professor Cady points out, "Cooper never set a novel in the tranquility and security of his accomplished dream."³ It was not in the nature of Cooper's world to be perfect, for conflict (the stuff of life as well as of a good story) was the way to self-knowledge.

The idea of progress posits a power that Cooper would not admit man had. For Cooper, life was a struggle for individual right action; life was a matter of the human consciousness, aware of its powers as well as its limitations, struggling to bring order out of chaos. Progress implies a change for the better in material terms, and the world a man is born into is accidental and almost beside the point. Man is born in one time and occupies a given point in space. Whether the time and place is better than the past or future is of little concern, for each man is engaged in his

¹ Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 222-23.

² Edwin Harrison Cady, *The Gentleman in America* (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1949), pp. 103-45 passim.

³ Cady, pp. 112-13.

own struggle toward form and knowledge. Progress is an abstraction which is good for the human ego. But it requires a memory which is really only an act of the historical imagination; it requires a prescience which man cannot have. It really has little to do with the individual search for selfhood.

These ideas form a kind of undercurrent through Cooper's work, and are the basis of the real conflict in that work. Yet in his own life he acted as though humanity could achieve progress. He struggled for reforms, as in the series of libel suits. Many of his novels are concerned with what seem to be solvable problems, and most have what would appear to be "happy endings." But his world view and his life are not really incongruities. Self-knowledge must result in right action, in a struggle for principle. Human life and the work of art have the same basic function: to create form; to create meaning for a given set of circumstances; to seek truth as it is defined in the conventional system of perception, experience and knowledge which is his world. Cooper was a man, and he was an artist. He was also a landowner, an adviser of statesmen, a writer of histories and debates, a man of action and a fighter for his own high principles. There must be order in men's affairs, and order proceeds from creative human action.

In his search for order, Cooper always preferred "a democracy to any other system, on account of its comparative advantages, and not on account of its perfection," and in spite of its evils. Cooper was "not a believer in the scheme of raising men very far above their natural propensities." In *The American Democrat* (1838), Cooper emphasized that man is finite and fallible, a corruptible being, especially where the human affections are concerned. Civilization regulates human affairs and must be firmly rooted in law and order.

The stability of a civilization is directly related to its respect for property. Social advancement is based on self-interest, and property is the base of all civilization. It is "desirable . . . as the agent in all that distinguishes the civilized man from the savage," Cooper wrote in *The American Democrat*. "As property is the base of all civilization, its existence and security are indispensable to social improvement." But civilization sometimes abuses the rights of property: "It is a governing principle of nature, that the agency which can produce most goods, when perverted from its proper aim, is most productive of evil."

I have repeated these familiar ideas in Cooper in order that I might stress another aspect of his theory of property. There is a hint of deeper meaning in the following argument which the novelist advances in support of the idea that property should be inherited:

The Deity, in that terrible warning delivered from the mount, where he declares that he "will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation," does no more than utter one of those sublime moral truths, which, in conformity with his divine providence, pervade nature. It is merely an announcement of a principle that cannot safely be separated from justice, and one that is closely connected with all the purest motives and highest aspirations of man.⁴

In an attempt to demonstrate that hereditary claims to property are good, Cooper says that property, like sins, should be passed from father to son.⁵ This yoking of sin and property suggests an ambivalent attitude toward property. The land must be measured, the wilderness must be divided, for civilization cannot exist without property. But the measuring of land, although necessary, is a kind of original sin, an attempt on the part of man to be in control, an attempt which is both praiseworthy and contemptible.⁶ This inevitable initial action is the start of a chain of evil linking father and son. Thus Cooper's ideas about property merge with his attitudes toward human progress.

The anti-rent wars, then, are the topic for discussion in the trilogy, the immediate concern of the novelist. But on a deeper level he is fascinated by the rise and fall of proud man as a result of the original sin of measuring the land. The quotation about the sins of the fathers appears many times, serves as a refrain or *leitmotif* throughout the three novels. The fathers pass on principles, truths, traditions; but they also bequeath their sons weakness, folly, forgetfulness.

The trilogy spans the four generations mentioned in the biblical quotation. All three novels are in the first person. The first, *Satanshoe* (1845), gets its title from the land of the Littlepages, a small property which later grows, through the advantages of marriage and purchases, into a large estate. The chain of evil (and of good, from the point of view of developing civilization) has its start here, where, it might be said, Satan finds his

⁴ *The American Democrat* (New York, 1956), p. 4.

⁵ Professor Cady says that Cooper's ideas about the ideal gentlemanliness "seem never to have changed significantly." (*Gentleman in America*, p. 115) Throughout his work, "Cooper had to get away from the old notion of hereditary gentility . . . Only life-long association with members of the class of gentlemen can produce their gifts." Although "the perfection of all the qualities which make gentility possible must await the slow acquisition of such environmental gifts," (p. 125) inherited land, a principle of the agrarian society which Cooper never questioned, becomes a necessary part of the gentleman's environment.

⁶ For their analyses of the Adamic idea in American civilization, I am particularly indebted to: R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam* (Chicago, 1955); Charles Sanford, "Paradise and Hades: Aspects of American Nationality," *Western Humanities Review*, XII (1958), 11-27; Smith, *Virgin Land*.

first foothold. *The Chainbearer* (1845) gets its title from the man who carries the chains in measuring the land, the man who helps civilization to grow from the wilderness, but who at the same time continues the chain of evil, increases the potentiality for corruption. *The Redskins* (1846) gets its title from the contrast between the false "injuns," corrupted white men, and the real Indians, displaced and dying red men. In this last novel the state of decay is about to supplant the forces of morality and justice; and Susquesus, the ancient Indian whose heart is half red and half white, states the dilemma, the tragic theme.

In *Satanstoe*, the corruption begins in an atmosphere in which change seems to be the passion of the people. Traditions, principles, are being lost: "That there is such a thing as improvement I am willing enough to admit, as well as that it not only compels, but excuses, changes; but I am yet to learn it is matter of just reproach that a man follows in the footsteps of those who have gone before him. . . . I doubt if all this craving for change has not more of selfishness in it than either of expediency or of philosophy. . . ." ⁷ Corny Littlepage, respecting the necessity for order, starts to measure the land. (All his surveyors meet violent deaths at the hands of the Indians, the original holders of the land.)

The measuring continues in *The Chainbearer*, and so does the corruption. In a footnote, Cooper writes that it is "an inherent principle in the corrupt nature of man to misuse all his privileges. . . . If history proves anything, it proves this." ⁸ He denies the possibility of the perfection of the human race, saying rather that there is danger from everything that man controls (p. 220). And yet "we live in an age of what is called progress, and fancy that man is steadily advancing on the great path of his destiny, to something that we are apt to imagine is to form perfection." But the moral nature of man does not change, and there is little new among his boasted improvements (p. 333). Whatever inviolable principles exist have grown out of tradition, have become venerable by standing the tests of time (p. 334). Far from heading toward perfection, the world rather learns that evil forms a chain, that "wrong extends and sometimes perpetuates its influence" (p. 431). But evil brings with it its own punishment in the form of an eventual demoralization (p. 246).

The dilemma of civilization is symbolized in old Andries, the chain-bearer, and Aaron, called Thousandacres, two forces opposing each other throughout *The Chainbearer*. These two, "the man who measured land, and he who took it to himself without measurement, were exactly antag-

⁷ *Satanstoe* (New York, 1891), pp. 504-5.

⁸ *The Chainbearer* (New York, 1891), p. 221. Page references to this novel are in parentheses in the text.

onist forces, in morals as well as in physics" (p. 334). At the end of the novel, they lie dying side by side. Civilization produced the chainbearer and his high code, but it also fostered the tyranny of numbers. The morality of Susquesus was the result of the wilderness, but so was the lawlessness of Thousandacres. Both civilization and wilderness, potentially good, have within them the possibility for destruction of whatever is best in men. Order and chaos meet, and are mutually destructive.

In the person of Susquesus we see another attempt by Cooper to create a character who, like Natty Bumppo, can contain within him and resolve the dilemmas and contradictions. He spans all three novels. By the time of *The Redskins*, he is ancient, a man who, through his long association with civilization, considers his heart half white and half red. He has known all four generations of Littlepages, and has seen civilization come to the land and change everything but the red man's heart, which, like the rock, never alters. To Susquesus, the pattern is merely a repetition of the destiny of all mankind: "He that has seen what *has* happened, ought to know what *will* happen again. I am very old, but I see nothing new. One day is like another. The same fruits come each summer, and the winters are alike. The bird builds in the same tree many times."⁹ The land is changed, "but the people do not alter" (p. 513). The false "injuns," hiding their heads in calico rags, are emblematic of a state of corruption that is part of the human condition.

The taking of the land was a kind of original sin. Property is the base for all civilization; but "the tendency of man" is to "convert into curses things that Providence designed to prove benefits." The land, so necessary for a sound society, becomes a curse, the focal point for man's stupidity. The mob of levelers come to take the land from the agrarian gentlemen just as their fathers before them took it from the Indians. And Susquesus says: "But the wicked spirit that drove out the red man is now about to drive off the pale-face chiefs. It is the same devil, and it is no other. He wanted land then, and he wants land now. There is one difference, and it is this . . . Indian will keep his word with Indian; pale-face will not keep his word with pale-face" (pp. 513-14). Susquesus himself originally left his tribe in order to preserve the basis of form and order. But ruin will come. "When that other lake is seen, the red man must stop, and die in the open fields, where rum, and tobacco, and bread are plenty, or march on into the great salt lake of the west and be drowned. Why this is so I cannot tell. That it has been so, I know; that it *will* be so, I believe. There is a reason for it; none can tell what that

⁹ *The Redskins* (New York, 1891), p. 365. Page references to this novel are in parentheses in the text.

reason is but the Great Spirit" (pp. 365-66). At the end of the trilogy the false "injuns" are temporarily defeated; but there is a spirit abroad in the land, and the march toward the great salt lake will continue for those who own land that someone else covets.

Thus in the anti-rent trilogy, property, so necessary as a basis for civilization, brings with it man's folly and the curse of progress. No reader of Cooper should be surprised at the tone of despair in *The Crater* (1847).¹⁰ After having corruption span four generations in the trilogy, in this next novel Cooper condenses the rise and fall of a civilization into a few brief years. By placing his few characters on Pacific islands, he finds an effective device for isolating the follies of man which will lead to the defeat of any attempt to create perfection.

Mark Woolston finds himself shipwrecked and alone on a small barren rock in the ocean, the remains of a volcano. His isolation from civilization becomes a test of selfhood, and he learns his capabilities for creative action, his capacity to bear suffering. Hours of solitude spent in meditation on the powers of nature teach him to understand his human position; teach him that "the earth, its revolutions, its heats and colds, its misery and happiness, are but specks in the incidents of a universe;"¹¹ teach him that he is not wholly self-sufficient as men in the world would believe they are, "fancying themselves and their powers of more account than the truth would warrant" (p. 103) in the struggle for existence. His isolation helps Mark to lose "that miserable feeling of vanity which renders us all so desirous to be more than nature ever intended" (p. 44).

After achieving humility and knowledge of his human position, Mark starts the work of creating a livable world for himself. It is as though he is the first man, for his island resembles a new creation, with the crater itself as the center (p. 114). Chance had put him in sole possession of the land, as though he were singled out for a special gift of Providence (p. 359). Whatever the land becomes is due to his creative efforts to build upon his initial good fortune.

A new volcanic disturbance, which is like the coming together of heaven and earth (p. 209), produces a verdant mountain which is like an earthly paradise, a second Eden. When his wife joins him on the new land, it is even more as though he were Adam in the garden, and she Eve. But both Mark and Bridget prefer the reef to the ready-made Eden, for here he had spent his solitary hours, here could be seen the results of his

¹⁰ For a full discussion of this novel in relation to Cooper's social theories see: Donald A. Ringe, "Cooper's *The Crater* and the Moral Basis of Society," *Papers of The Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, XLIV (1959), 371-80.

¹¹ *The Crater* (New York, 1891), p. 157. Page references to this novel are in parentheses in the text.

own creative efforts, here he had brought order to the barren land.

When Mark starts a society on the land, he chooses people with care, first attending to morals (p. 331). He wants the best society possible, although he has no dreams of perfection; on the contrary, he tries to teach the young that they are fallible beings, "carefully avoiding the modern fallacy of supposing that an infallible whole could be formed of fallible parts" (p. 423).

But the complexity of human relationships comes with civilization; man defiles the Eden-like wilderness. Repeated attacks from the outside cannot destroy the new civilization, but corruption within does destroy it. Mark, who becomes governor of the new civilization, believes that man is a fallen creature and will continue to be (p. 414); and he is often heard to say, "Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall" (p. 8). He can not believe that disregard for principles, for law and order and justice, can lead to a perfect world. He rejects "visionary theories"; and although he recognizes that circumstances alter laws, he understands ". . . that certain great moral truths existed as the law of the human family, and that they were not to be set aside by visionaries; and least of all, with impunity" (p. 333).

But visionaries do appear to tempt the island community. The Serpent visits "this Eden of modern times" in many forms. "*Progress* was the great desideratum; and *change* was the handmaiden of progress" (p. 480). The demagogue gains control. Religion, law and the press help to stir up feelings (p. 472). In short:

Everything human is abused; and it would seem that the only period of tolerable condition is the transition state, when the new force is gathering to a head, and before the storm has time to break. In the meantime, the earth revolves; men are born, live their time, and die; communities are formed and are dissolved; dynasties appear and disappear; good contends with evil, and evil still has its day; the whole, however, advancing slowly but unerringly towards that great consummation, which was designed from the beginning, and which is as certain to arrive in the end, as that the sun sets at night and rises in the morning. The supreme folly of the hour is to imagine that perfection will come before its stated time (p. 488).

But the great consummation, the destined perfection, was for Cooper not a matter of human life on this earth. In the transition state between its birth and the start of its decay, civilization is acceptable; but at all other times, the human condition is intolerable.

A new convulsion of the earth destroys the islands. ". . . The labors and hopes of years . . . vanished in a moment. The crust of the earth

had again been broken; and this time it was to destroy, instead of to create" (pp. 500-1). The top of Vulcan's Peak, the former Eden, is all that is left, "naked, storm-beaten," the only changeless thing "amid the changes of time, and civilization, and decay" (p. 501). And men "are but mites amid millions of other mites" who have "temporary possession of but small portions of a globe that floats, a point in space . . . which will one day be suddenly struck out of its orbit." Mark concludes: "For a time our efforts seemed to create, and to adorn, and to perfect, until we forget our origin and destination, substituting self for that divine hand which alone can unite the elements of worlds as they float in gases, equally from His mysterious laboratory, and scatter them again into thin air when the works of His hand cease to find favor in His view" (p. 504).

Cooper has faith in an ultimate resolution of the shadowy mystery of life; other writers see the end of the human struggle in lifeless rock floating meaninglessly around a darkened, burned out sun. But whether a man has faith in eventual meaning or shakes his fist in defiance of nothing, the world is for a certain period of time his home, to do with what he will, and death, decay and ruin are the conditions of life. Each man is a center trying to make sense out of an infinity of possibility. Even within his limited area of perception he is forced to make choices in order to find relationships; in his desire to know himself and his world, he classifies his perceptions, his experiences. Out of the chaos of heedless complexity around him he abstracts qualities and connections which will bring order out of disorder, form out of formlessness, meaning out of meaninglessness. He creates his own reality, places himself in an orderly context. But time destroys the best of man's efforts to build, and death, one of the facts of life, is a kind of defeat. Uncertainty spreads darkly over his past and his future; yet he can completely engage himself with the smallest details of existence, and he builds for the future as though he were here to stay. He is full of folly, and full of courage. Man must create meaning, or the world would be unendurable.

In such an atmosphere of ideas must Cooper's views of civilization be contemplated. He had a strong sense of human limitations, a sense of the tragic in human existence; he realized the impossibility of absolute knowledge; he saw the complexities and contradictions in the human condition. As a man and social critic involved in the life around him, he fought with vigor for the sake of principle. As artist, he was detached enough to believe that the conflicts would never be resolved. His art was his symbolic way of ordering experience into meaningful form, his way of creating unity.

Notes

Classical Tragedy in the Province Theater

THE TWO NINETEENTH-CENTURY PRODUCTIONS OF SOPHOCLES' TRAGEDIES (*Antigone* in 1845 and *Oedipus* in 1882) in New York could, as Miss Alexander¹ has pointed out, "hardly be considered a success." The criticism of the New York *World*—" . . . the blind and bloody Oedipus is exceedingly repulsive, view it as one may."—justifies her conclusion, moreover, that "The tragic vision of Sophocles was far too distant from the viewpoint of New York in 1882 . . . to be received with enthusiasm by a wide public."

A second conclusion, that "Only a few literary sophisticates [college boys and professors] were ready to do it honor," is perhaps in need of qualification. Seemingly, if one may judge from the reception given a pseudo-classical tragedy of ancient Greek life, *Parrhasius*,² Sophocles would have fared far better if his *Oedipus* had been presented in any of the province theaters of New Orleans, Memphis, San Francisco or St. Louis than it did in its New York production. The failure of what was apparently a most interesting production of *Oedipus* in 1882 contrasted with the successes of *Parrhasius* in the province theaters of the 1890s suggests that the theater-goers of interior America were much more ready for classical drama than were the New Yorkers.

Parrhasius was written in 1878 by a young New Orleanian, Espy Williams (1852-1908)³ and produced by an amateur group in New Orleans that year. The city was at that time a favorite one with American actors, and Williams had an acquaintance with many of them.

Earlier, in 1874, he had written a tragedy, *Eugene Aram*, based on the novel by Bulwer-Lytton; and Lawrence Barrett, the actor, had looked at it for Williams⁴ and commented that while the play had "great literary quality," it lacked "construction" and would not be successful on the

¹ Doris M. Alexander, "Oedipus in Victorian New York," *American Quarterly*, XII (Fall, 1960), 417-21.

² Espy Williams' *Parrhasius: A Southerner Returns to the Classics* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1958), Kentucky Microcards, Series A, No. 26.

³ See "A Southerner's Tribute to Illinois' 'Pagan Prophet,'" *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society*, LI (Autumn, 1958), 268-73, for a short account of the playwright.

⁴ The details of Williams' relationships with New Orleans actors during the 1870s are recorded in a diary he kept during 1874-75.

stage. Williams complained to his diary that this judgment showed a want of taste and was evidence of a serious weakness in the American theater. He and Barrett, however, became and remained friends throughout their lives.⁵

After the New Orleans production of *Parrhasius*,⁶ Barrett told Williams that although the play was interesting, it was "too gruesome" to succeed on a modern stage. Williams, nonetheless, had the play published at his own expense, but offered it as a poem: *Parrhasius: or, Thriftless Ambition: A dramatic Poem.*⁷ Williams' treatment of the play as a "dramatic poem" suggests that he was perhaps influenced by Milton's *Samson Agonistes*. However, although a few years earlier he had complained about the difficulty in reading Aristotle,⁸ it is obvious from a reading of *Parrhasius* that his main influence was Greek tragedy. The play is, in fact, an imitation of the drama of Sophocles.

The New York *Mirror* editors who complained of the *Oedipus* production, "If Mr. Cazauran should write, and Manager Palmer produce a piece with a plot like this . . . , it is probable Anthony Comstock would close up the theater as a disorderly house . . . ,"⁹ would have been even more horrified with the plot of *Parrhasius*. The protagonist, Parrhasius, is a painter with two overwhelming passions, his art and his wife, Lydia. He is, as the play opens, in the midst of an interesting art experiment. He wishes to paint "pure agony." To achieve this purpose, he needs a model who expresses "pure agony." He, therefore, buys a noble slave, tears out his tongue, and has the man tortured so that he may paint his features in the moment of agony. The tearing out of the tongue serves a double purpose. On the one hand, it prevents the noble slave from interrupting the work with his screams; and, on the other hand, it heightens the agony. The conclusion is not altogether happy. The slave dies, and then it develops that he is Damon, Lydia's lost father. Lydia, when she discovers her husband's crime and her father's end, reacts in a way that would have pleased the editors of the *Mirror*. She dies of shocked horror.

⁵ A poem dedicated to Barrett, "Lawrence Barrett," is in Williams' *A Dream of Art and Other Poems* (New York, 1892). See, also, "Williams' Dante: The Death of Nineteenth-Century Heroic Drama," *Southern Speech Journal*, XXV (Summer, 1960), 255-63.

⁶ *Parrhasius* was produced first in 1878, but as late as 1889, it was still being given amateur productions in New Orleans. According to programs of the play, the Women's Social Industrial Association gave one performance at Grunewald Opera House in New Orleans on March 1, 1889. For this performance, *Parrhasius* formed the second half of a two-part program. The first part was "Vocal and Instrumental Music." On April 4 of that year, a second performance was given. For this performance, a farce by Williams, *Morbid Vs. Quick*, formed the first half of the program.

⁷ (New Orleans: Southern Publishing Company, 1879), 26 pp.

⁸ Aristotle was "too airy," Williams recorded in his diary in 1874.

⁹ Alexander, "Oedipus in Victorian New York," p. 419.

The play in all of its mechanical details, except for a chorus, is an imitation of classical tragedy. The plot is borrowed from Greek legend; there are only a few characters, a single action, a single scene and a "noble hero" who falls through the sin of *hybris*. Admittedly, a theater-goer might be deeply moved by any Greek tragedy and yet be horrified and dismayed by *Parrhasius*. It is unlikely, however, that anyone who approved of *Parrhasius* would object to *Oedipus* in any of the terms expressed in the reviews of the 1882 production in New York. The complaints about the "school book" quality of Sophocles' verse and the lack of decorum in the plot of *Oedipus* would hardly have been satisfied by the pedestrian blank verse of *Parrhasius*. The torture of the "noble slave," Damon, moreover, takes place on stage in Williams' play. It is, in fact, the central action of the play.

In the early 1890s, a copy of the 1879 edition of *Parrhasius* found its way into the hands of Robert Mantell, the Shakespearian actor. In 1892, G. P. Putnam's Sons published a collection of Williams' poetry, *A Dream of Art and Other Poems*. The Boston *Transcript* gave the book a favorable review, and Mantell, who was then playing Boston, saw the review and associated the name of the poet with the author of *Parrhasius*. He wrote to the *Transcript* for Williams' address and later wrote to Williams asking for the stage rights to the play.¹⁰ Mantell eventually bought the play for \$3,000¹¹ and produced it in the province theaters across the nation as the principal offering in his repertoire.

The reviewers, seemingly, were impressed with the productions of *Parrhasius* in the province theaters. The reviewer for the San Francisco *Examiner* called it, "A powerful piece of dramatic writing; it is the work of genius." The San Francisco *Chronicle* called it, "The strongest tragic scene in modern drama. One of the most important contributions to our dramatic literature in years." The Memphis *Appeal* reviewer declared, "The play is the best work of native origin that has been seen here in a decade." The Kansas City *Journal* reviewer reported, "The conception and treatment are magnificent."¹²

¹⁰ The letter to the Boston *Transcript* was forwarded to Williams and is now in the library of the University of Southwestern Louisiana. It reads: "My dear Sir, I have found myself so interested in the little tragedy, 'Parrhasius,' that I wish to know something of the author. Can you put me on the track? Even his address would be a help. I regret that in the rush of many duties I have been unable to say in print all that I felt concerning this fine work, but hope to find the opportunity soon." It is signed *Robert Mantell* and dated May 21, 1892.

¹¹ New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, June 14, 1892.

¹² These reviews, and others, were reprinted as part of an advertisement for *Parrhasius* in 1898. Espy Williams, *The Husband* (New Orleans, 1898). The play, at that time, was being offered for general professional and amateur production.

In a letter to Williams, accompanying the contract, Mantell indicated his belief in the seriousness of the play. He wrote, "I begin my season early—July 10 at Salt Lake City and work out to the coast; then south through Texas. Will play in New Orleans about Sept. 10. I hope to have the play in pretty good shape at that time. I have been having some nice drops painted, about seven in number, to take with me to give it a good chance for success. The costumes will also be very fine, and I am picking out my people more for '*Parrhasius*' than for any other of my plays. I intend to introduce a Grecian ballet of dancing girls and flute players into one of the scenes as a feature of the performance."¹³

So successful was *Parrhasius* in its single-act classical form, in fact, that in 1893 Williams did three-act and four-act versions of it, altering its classical structure to an Elizabethan form and adding a happy ending.¹⁴

Whether audiences who were drawn to *Parrhasius* because of its classical structure were indifferent to the Elizabethan versions or whether Mantell simply tired of the play after a few seasons is not known; but the play was removed from his repertoire after a few years. During its few years of "province glory," however, *Parrhasius* demonstrated that a taste for classical tragedy existed in the nineteenth century in America, perhaps exclusively in the province theaters. In this connection it is interesting to note that when American drama and theater became respectful of the "classical heritage," it was the province-born men of letters like T. S. Eliot, Tennessee Williams and Robinson Jeffers who made the best use of it, not the New York-theater-trained playwrights.

PAUL T. NOLAN, *University of Southwestern Louisiana*

¹³ The letter to Williams was printed in the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, June 14, 1892, as a part of the story announcing the sale of the play.

¹⁴ The author's typed manuscripts of both the three-act and four-act versions are in the library of the University of Southwestern Louisiana. They are titled: *Parrhasius: A Tragedy in Three Acts*, "Founded Upon the Author's One Act Tragedy of the Same Name," dated 1893, 41 pp.; and *Parrhasius: A Classic Tragedy in Four Acts*, dated July 28, 1893, 75 pp.



Reviews

Conducted by Jane Knowles

Religion in American Life¹

THE SHAPING OF AMERICAN RELIGION, Edited by James Ward Smith and Leland Jamison. 526 pp. Princeton University Press, 1961. \$8.50.

THE study of religion in American culture and the study of American church history appear to be entering a new stage. In that these two disciplines are intimately related and at some points are identical, it is not surprising to note their common participation in a new approach to their subject matter. For want of a better term, perhaps one could call this new stage the comprehensive interpretive phase. The appearance of the four-volume study, *The Shaping of American Religion*, is one more indication of this new stage.

Earlier studies in American church history and in religion in American culture tended either to concentrate on particular problems, issues, institutions, men and movements, or they tended to present an interpretive point of view based on a rather restricted point of view. They did not aim self-consciously at a comprehensive interpretive scheme.

Professor S. E. Mead, in a masterful analysis of the late W. W. Sweet's two volumes, *Religion in American Culture* (*Church History*, January, 1953) pointed out that Sweet based his interpretation on a peculiar, and at points contradictory, mixture of the Turner frontier hypothesis and a form of historical positivism derived from MacMaster. This had two basic consequences so far as the comprehensiveness of the work was concerned. First, it did not provide an adequate framework for a truly comprehensive interpretative picture of religion in America. Chronology actually remained the primary framework, and even the periodization was adopted from political history. Secondly, there was an almost exclusive emphasis on the institutional, and even more narrowly on the denominational dimensions of history. The theological, aesthetic, intellectual, philosophical dimensions were barely touched or were ignored.

¹ *Religion in American Life*. Edited by James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison. 4 vols. Princeton University Press, 1961. \$32.50. Vol. I. *The Shaping of American Religion*. Edited by James Ward Smith and Leland Jamison. Vol. II. *Religious Perspectives in American Culture*. Edited by James Ward Smith and Leland Jamison. Vol. IV. Nelson R. Burr, *A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*. Bound in 2 vols. Vol. III to be published later in 1961.

altogether. They were very difficult to include within the basic Turner-MacMaster framework.

Professor Sweet's survey interpretation remains an indispensable work, and it represents the outstanding attempt of the preceding period to provide a general interpretive scheme of the development and nature of religion in the American scene. Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette sketched a general interpretive picture of religion in American culture, but this was done within the context of the history of missions. (*A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Volume IV; 1941) It is interesting that he sought to present the case for the impact of the American environment on Christianity and, also, the impact of Christianity on the American environment. This presentation also was marked by a largely institutional concern and did not enter into the problem of comprehensiveness and the variety of dimensions involved. He was interested in institutional expansion and modification but not primarily or secondarily in doctrinal shifts, intellectual patterns, political-theological relations and many of the topics which are now of central importance.

At the same time that several general surveys were written, the vast bulk of research and writing was directed to particular problems and institutions. For some years, most of these dealt with particular denominational histories or problems and concentrated on only one or two dimensions. Since the late 1930s, a steady stream of research and writing has proceeded in new directions and in greater depth. The work of Perry Miller is a classic example. He handled primarily problems in New England culture, but he treated them at depth and in a wide variety of dimensions. Already the search for a comprehensive and interpretive approach was well under way. Sidney E. Mead moved beyond a single area or chronological period, and through a series of provocative articles, he tentatively proposed a comprehensive interpretive scheme for Protestantism in the American scene. In addition to institutional concerns, he worked at the interrelationships between the total American environment and the intellectual, aesthetic and doctrinal dimensions.

The new four-volume study, *The Shaping of American Religion*, and particularly volume one, *Religion in American Life*, are to be seen and appreciated in this new context. Within the past year, the first volume of a three-volume series, *American Christianity: An Historical Interpretation with Representative Documents*, by H. S. Smith, R. Handy and L. Loetscher appeared. It, too, marks an attempt to move toward a comprehensive understanding of the nature of an impact of Christianity (in this case) on the American scene. It, too, is concerned with the two-way movement between theology and culture in America. These two major

works appearing within a year symbolize the new stage these disciplines have entered.

There is no doubt that the purpose of the set reviewed here is to be comprehensive-interpretive. The editors state in the introduction that their goal is to focus attention on the formative religious dimensions of American culture and on the central cultural dimensions of American religion. They understand these dimensions as interwoven parts of a single process, yet they seek also to maintain the relative autonomy of religion and culture. Thus they are engaged in an interpretative task which has as its basic presupposition that to understand either culture or religion in America one must understand the subtle and complex interplay of each on the other. To do this, one must in some way seek to be sufficiently comprehensive to establish the reality of the interplay at key points both in religion and in culture.

The editors explicitly reject encyclopedic coverage as the key to comprehensiveness. In this they are correct. Complete coverage of a body of material does not guarantee comprehensiveness but may promote only confusion. Nevertheless, comprehensiveness demands a selective principle or principles that will reveal the scope and depth of a discipline so that an initial understanding of the whole can develop. The editors have sought to do this by lifting out what they believe to be the set of key dimensions that reveal both the genius of and the mutually formative interplay between religion and culture.

The first set of dimensions are the institutional, aesthetic and theoretical, and the second set seek to cut across the first three and divide into the historical and contemporary analytical. In a way, these are obvious categories or dimensions, and it is not surprising to learn that they originally developed in the context of a seminar in a university. Because they are so obvious, they possess their greatest strength as well as their greatest weakness. They do enable the various authors to present a broad, fair picture of religious and cultural interplay in the American scene. These categories also enable one to get at indirectly something of the uniqueness or genius of religion in the American scene. We shall note later, however, that in several respects a more original and less obvious set of categories would have been more helpful.

It is not too helpful or possible in a review to summarize or to criticize what nine distinguished authors have written in nine different essays. However, their particular contributions can be assessed in light of the over-all purpose of the first volume in the context of the entire set. Volume one seeks to set the stage for the other three, and in this sense is the key volume. First, it seeks to survey the institutional structure

of the four basic segments of religion in American life; then, it sets forth the course of religious thought in America by surveying particular phases, epochs or problems. In both cases, the distinctive point of view is to emphasize and to highlight those features that have developed within the American context.

The first volume succeeds admirably in its task. In a masterful opening essay, H. Richard Niebuhr picks up and develops fully insights he touched on in his early book, *The Kingdom of God in America*. The essay not only illuminates a good many issues in American culture and religion; it also reveals the extent to which Niebuhr continues to be occupied with certain basic reoccurring problems. In this case, it is the fundamental problem of the nature of Protestantism as a bipolar reality constantly moving between movement and order, dynamic and static, and freedom and form. In this context, he presents a brief but stimulating analysis of the relationship between Protestantism and democracy in the American scene.

The other three essays handle their problems in quite different ways. Henry J. Browne gives a helpful survey of the Roman Catholic development in the American context, but at points it appears unnecessarily apologetic. Oscar Handlin provides a most illuminating and informative analysis of what happened to Judaism in America. This might well prove one of the most useful essays for teachers of religion in colleges and universities. A. Leland Jamison deals with the provocative and difficult question of the sects and cults. In it, he indicates the extent to which this is, both in its strengths and in its weaknesses, a uniquely American phenomenon. Each of these essays deserves an individual critique, but here we can only observe that together they offer a most helpful introductory survey to the institutional forms and peculiar developments of the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish traditions in the American scene.

The second set of essays in volume one provides a survey of American religious thought but with almost exclusive emphasis on Protestantism in its various forms. Unfortunately, the editors could find no psychologist prepared to contribute an essay on this very important phase of the history of religious thought in America; thus the entire problem of psychology and religious thought was only touched on in the essays of Persons, Smith and Williams.

Sidney E. Ahlstrom presents a survey of theological developments within the churches by the so-called professional theologians. It is his avowed object to demonstrate that there has been a genuine high quality theologizing in the American churches from the very first days in New

England. He makes his case, but it is dubious that some of the men he analyzes are as powerful or creative minds as he would contend. It is also curious that he has overlooked the influence of Tillich on the two Niebuhrs, on psychiatric thought in America and on recent developments in the American theological scene.

Each of the other four essays is a genuine contribution to an understanding of religious thought in American life. Perry Miller's brilliant analysis of how covenant thought was related to American political life and the consequent shift in relationships at the time of the revivals lays the groundwork for essays in volume two. S. Persons, J. Ward Smith and D. D. Williams each deal with distinctively American developments in religious thought as it confronted modernity, science and the American emphasis on experience as formative in all aspects of life. Together, these essays offer the best introduction to religious thought in American life and culture that is now available.

The major weakness of volume one, and perhaps of the entire series, is that it is too individualistic. In spite of the efforts of the editors to synthesize the work of the authors, the volume still gives the appearance of a collection of lectures or essays delivered in a special seminar in a university. Of course, they were. Perhaps this is the best one can hope for out of a collection of essays, but the intentions of the editors as stated in the introduction lead one to expect greater continuity between the essays and to anticipate an over-all or more unifying impact from the totality of the work. A different organizational structure might have been more conducive to achieving the goals of continuity and comprehensiveness.

However, this remains a major effort to present a comprehensive and interpretative study of religion in American life. It is one of the first in the new phase of studies; therefore, one ought not to be too critical of it. Building on many of the recent individual studies that have been done, it attempts a comprehensive interpretation. It provides much welcome new information, and above all, it abounds with provocative and stimulating insights. It is indispensable for the student of American history and culture and for the church historian.

The bibliographical volume alone should be a major contribution to scholarship. The set as a whole is a most welcome addition to a rapidly growing body of interpretative literature on religion in American life. Even its shortcomings should stimulate further efforts to seek a comprehensive understanding of the nature and uniqueness of religion in relation to American culture.

JERALD C. BRAUER, *University of Chicago*

RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVES IN AMERICAN CULTURE, Edited by James Ward Smith and Leland Jamison. 440 pp. Princeton University Press, 1961. \$7.50. Illus.

THE format of this volume is panoramic. The approach is essentially descriptive. The content packs an awesome number of facts with surprisingly little wallop. These ten lectures-made-essays discuss the historical development of American religion in relation to American law, literature, politics, music, education and architecture over the past three hundred years.

Despite the well-established abilities of the contributors the volume suffers from the impossible burdens placed upon them—especially the encyclopedic scope of their topics (apparently assigned in advance) and the inevitable overlap among papers which have the same theme and subject. Wilber G. Katz, for example, both discuss similar aspects of the separation of church and state. Dayton D. McLean and R. Morton Darrow both catalog many of the same problems involving the role of the churches in political action. Carlos Baker and Willard Thorp treat similarly the religious views of several of the same writers. And all contributors make free and frequent use of the seminal ideas of Perry Miller, Sidney Mead and the Niebuhrs. Moreover, two of the essays are essentially expanded versions of papers published in John Cogley's *Religion in America* in 1958. Unaccountably the editors did little to correlate this vast amount of material. While there are five essays touching upon the delicate problems of church-state relations, the editors unconvincingly explain the absence of any essay upon the "problems of the American Negro" on the grounds that the issue of civil rights is "too current and too explosive" for scholarly discussion. Readers are more likely to be overwhelmed by details than enlightened by new insights.

The disjointed, encyclopedic and repetitious character of the book can best be seen by briefly describing the eight essays in it. The volume opens with Will Herberg's discussion of religion and education in America—the most timely and provocative paper in the book, though not the most original. Herberg's thesis is that in the colonial period "education was conceived of as serving the ends of religion" whereas today religion is valued chiefly "for its contribution to education, the goals and ends of which are defined . . . in terms of the culture." This reversal he traces back to the eternal conflict between reason and revelation which, he maintains, the Puritans failed to reconcile and which was greatly exacerbated by the "existential" crisis-religion of American

revivalism. Once Americans adopted the evangelical view that religion is a matter of experience and faith, which cannot be taught, the way was clear for what Herberg (following Sidney Mead) calls "the extrusion of religion from the public schools" and the intrusion of a new secular religion called "the American Way of Life." Herberg is at his best pointing out the ironies of this development, such as the fact that revivalism, by divorcing religion and learning, "speeded the progress of secularization"; and the fact that the Catholic immigrants, overeager for Americanization, helped to promote the bigotry of 100-per-cent Americanism and did their best to make the public schools into the "irreligious" system which some leaders of Catholicism now so greatly deplore. But Herberg's own religious commitment leads him to decry the "non-religious" or "religion-blind" character of public education after 1890 and to describe "this movement of de-religionization" as though it were the result of a plot led by John Dewey, John B. Watson and their followers, John L. Childs and James B. Conant. By the end of his lecture Herberg is making another of the many current pleas for putting "a pro-religious atmosphere" back into the public schools before the country goes to the dogs.

In the next essay, "Religion and Law in America," Wilber G. Katz maintains that "the basic American principle of church-state relations is neither separation of church and state nor impartial benevolence toward religion; it is the principle of religious liberty, which requires strict government neutrality with respect to religion." And neutrality, he insists, does not mean separation, for strict separation (such as would preclude paying chaplains and building chapels for the armed services out of public tax money) would in effect be hostile to religion. Katz, like Herberg, is among those who find no legal objection (nor objection in principle) to granting tax funds to parochial schools to cover the cost of instruction in secular subjects. The latter half of Katz's paper consists of a diversionary discussion of religious ethics and capital punishment in which he roundly scores Justice Holmes who justified "legalized killing" on the ground that the state has a right to kill men convicted of certain crimes simply as an object lesson to deter others.

William Lee Miller's lecture on "American Religion and American Political Attitudes" is marred by diffuseness and by excessive references to the opinions of others. Yet he presents a cogent summary of the "unpolitical or antipolitical" view of the social order which religious tradition has instilled in the average American. The American religious tradition, he says, "is inclined to overlook the facts and problems of power and to see instead a world marked by the voluntary response of reason and conscience to moral persuasion"; it "underestimates the role

of interests and overestimates their possible harmony"; it "is inclined to neglect limits and proclaim ideals as immediately realizable." All this has of course been said before by Reinhold Niebuhr (and also by George Kennan in his analysis of the impact of this tradition on American foreign policy).

It is difficult to differentiate the topics of the essays by Dayton D. McKean ("The State, the Church, and the Lobby") and R. Morton Darrow ("The Church and Techniques of Political Action"). Both are concerned with the complex interaction locally, nationally and internationally between the churches and the politicians. Both cite numerous specific cases of political pressures brought to bear by Protestants, Catholics and Jews for and against legal, legislative and executive actions (mostly in the twentieth century). Both conclude that the churches, like other social institutions in the United States, will continue to participate actively in the political process as long as America remains a pluralistic, church-going democracy. And both argue that this participation is neither wholly good nor bad; it is simply the American way. McKean relies heavily upon the statistics provided by Gallup Polls and is concerned primarily with categorizing the types of issue which bring the churches into politics. Darrow is more interested in the methods used by various religious groups to attain their political ends. Both essays are useful reminders of the fact that the line between church and state is not, and never can be, firmly fixed. Darrow makes the important point that large-scale organized lobbying by church organizations is bound to increase as the corporate structure of America increases in complexity. But unfortunately neither writer offers any comparisons to similar church-state problems in other countries nor any comprehensive explanation for the uniqueness of the American situation.

Willard Thorp chose to limit his discussion of "Religion in American Fiction" to the attitudes underlying the religious best-sellers and better-sellers since the Rev. William Ware's *Zenobia* appeared in 1837. "Ware found the plot which was to become perennial with religious novelists," the story of the unbeliever who hears about Christ and "in the climactic moment" beholds Him and is forever marked by the experience. Thorp traces the manifold variations on this theme (and on "the converted sinner" theme) through 120 years of popular fiction (and even into the current movie version of *Ben-Hur*) with amusing and occasionally revealing insights into the changing religious climate of American society. But it is, on the whole, a dreary road to travel.

The meatier aspects of religion and fiction were left to Carlos Baker. But in his essay, "The Place of the Bible in American Fiction," (previously published in *Theology Today*, April, 1960), he preferred to

play the game straight and, by accepting the encyclopedic scope of his subject, he was prevented from any deep or subtle probing into this vast mountain of material. This subject, as Baker acknowledges, has been dealt with at greater length in recent books by Randall Stewart and R. W. B. Lewis, and during the past fifteen years almost every major literary figure has been re-examined for his attitude toward Christianity. Baker's lecture serves as a useful (though incomplete) summary of this literature, but it leaves him little space to offer any original analysis of his own, even on Hemingway.

Undoubtedly the most original contribution in the volume is R. P. Blackmur's essay on "Religious Poetry in the United States." Unlike most contributors, Blackmur refused simply to survey his topic. Starting from a statement by Santayana ("... religion and poetry are identical in essence. . . . Poetry is called religion when it intervenes in life, and religion, when it merely supervenes upon life, is seen to be nothing but poetry") Blackmur attempts to define the essence of religious poetry in terms of "the great wrestling tradition which has inhabited the great majority of religious poets since the Council of Trent"—"a wrestling with God, with the self, with conscience, and above all in our latter day with our behavior." There is, Blackmur says, in the adventure of Jacob's wrestling with the angel "half the subject matter of modern poetry." And through the work of Anne Bradstreet, Edward Taylor, Herman Melville, Walt Whitman, Emily Dickinson and Robert Frost Blackmur demonstrates that "Poetry is one of the ways of cultivation; and the harvest is vision." The ways in which these poets have wrestled with Jacob's angel describe the course of America's spiritual confrontation with "*Le silence éternel de ces espaces infinis.* . . ." But for "American" Blackmur reads "modern man."

The concluding lecture-essays by Leonard Ellinwood ("Religious Music in America") and Donald G. Egbert ("Religious Expression in American Architecture") take the survey aspect of their subject so seriously that they read like encyclopedia articles. Ellinwood and Egbert completely subordinate the qualities of insight and analysis to quantities of facts and trends. Though these are the longest articles in the book and though Egbert's is nicely illustrated, neither is very novel or enlightening.

What, in sum, are the religious perspectives which this miscellaneous assortment of lectures embodies? All of the contributors testify to the deep and pervasive Christian tradition in America's past. Yet all seem to agree that the tradition has become mislaid or perverted. Increasing separationism, secularism, commercialism, suburbanism and confusion seem to indicate that America is a tree with a badly damaged, if not severed, spiritual taproot. This deracination is dramatically symbolized

in Egbert's concluding remarks concerning the inability of modern architects to create honest spiritual dwelling places for a nation which boasts the greatest number of active, wealthy, generous church members in the world. The best modern architects have either refused (like Walter Gropius) to design churches or have been singularly unsuccessful in their results. As Egbert says, modern architects, finding no living faith to work in harmony with, grope futilely for "historical reminiscences by making use of . . . accessories ["Bell, tower, cross, and the like"] that for Christians have traditionally connoted 'church'." All these essays call for, or hopefully see signs of, a new spiritual awakening in American life. None indicates how we are to get out of the Wasteland. The mood is elegiac. It is odd that none of the essayists suggests that the great American experiment to reconcile the will of the majority with the higher laws of revealed religion has been on the whole surprisingly successful.

WILLIAM G. McLOUGHLIN, *Brown University*

NELSON R. BURR, *A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*. (Bound in two volumes.) 1169 pp. Princeton University Press, 1961. \$17.50.

THIS is a tremendous work. It may be the most significant single publication on religion in America that this generation will see. Its title, which conjures up the picture of something about as exciting as the yellow pages of a telephone directory, does not do it justice. For it is much more than a bibliography in the usual sense. To be sure, in it one can find reference to practically all the major books and articles, and many minor ones, and to some unpublished dissertations on the subject. But "critical" here means organizing the material under a clear outline and giving the works an opportunity to speak for themselves through a running interpretive commentary. Since the editor's historical judgments average exceedingly high, the result is a massive but systematic and readable treatment of almost every aspect of religion in America. The presentation is made with a straightforward matter-of-factness that tends to conceal the tremendous scholarship that obviously went into its making. It is a work of art, in the sense that the good artist makes things most difficult to do appear effortless. And it shows the consistency and integrity of a work unified in presentation because its construction was dominated by one mind. This so-called "Bibliography" is in no sense a mere appendage to the other three volumes in the series, and indeed it may well come to overshadow and eclipse them.

The whole work is divided into five Parts: 1) Bibliographical Guides; General Surveys and Histories; 2) Evolution [history] of American Reli-

gion; 3) Religion and Society; 4) Religion in the Arts and Literature, and 5) Intellectual History, Theology, Philosophy and Science. Any one of these parts alone would make a sizable and valuable book. I am tempted to hope in public that the Princeton Press will see this, and put them out in paperback.

In each part the coverage is amazingly complete. For example, Part Four has sections on Architecture, Liturgical Arts, Music, Religion and Literature, Religion and Poetry, Religion and Drama, Negro Religious Literature and the Sermon. These two hundred pages constitute a major contribution to our knowledge of a relatively neglected side of American religious life. Part Three has sections on Religion and the Law, Religion and Politics, Religion and Education and Religion and Social Reform. Anyone wishing to teach a course on one of these sections (let alone a whole part) will find here reference to all the necessary reading *and* all the basic motifs.

Part Two, called "Evolution of American Religion" is the longest (454 pages), as befits such a work. I think the word "evolution" instead of "history" is unfortunate (because dated) and somewhat misleading—as is the designation "American Religion" because it suggests that religion in America is in essence something unique and precious.

The motifs employed in Part Two are sound, tracing developments under nine sectional heads from the transplanting of State Churches, through the battles for disestablishment, the many "liberal" and other movements emerging during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the development of the denominational pattern as the accepted organizational form. The interpretation continues with sections on the numerous sects, cults and communitarian movements, the Negro church, unity movements, missions, religious education and immigration.

This is one history that does justice to the "liberal" side of the story—something refreshing in the prevailing theological atmosphere. In Section III, "Conflicting and Anti-Traditional Movements" there are subsections on "The Liberalizing Influence of Jefferson" (wherein traditionally hard-Presbyterian Princeton, through its Press, begins to make amends for some of the opinions some of her clerical sons have expressed about the third President), Universalism, Unitarianism, Transcendentalism, Free Thought and Ethical Culture. The subsection on Unitarianism is as good a bibliographical treatment as that denomination has ever produced for itself.

In a work of this size wherein the editor has tried to place each of thousands of items in its most proper place in an outline, a reader is bound to find some familiar works under unexpected categories. For example, I looked in vain under the category of "The Emergence of

"Urban Revivalism" for McLoughlin's "*History of Modern Revivalism*" and for Weisberger's *They Gathered at the River*—but discovered them under "General Histories of Revivalism."

Some such misplacements are harder to understand. For example, under the heading "The Puritan Heritage and Controversy" the general shift from debunking to appreciation of the Puritans is noted, hanging the change chiefly on the works of S. E. Morison. At this point the omission of Perry Miller's books, *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts* and *From Colony to Province*—and a host of articles including "The Marrow of Puritan Divinity" is phenomenal—especially since the comparatively amateurish works of Stephenson and Wilder are noted. Miller's books and articles are noted in another place (e.g., p. 974), but I did not find a reference to the reprinting of "The Marrow . . ." and several other articles in the collection entitled *Errand Into the Wilderness*.

I should add in this connection that I am writing these comments after having seen only page proofs, without benefit of title page, introduction (I suppose there is to be one), table of contents or index. This means that I could not do the amount of cross checking that the reviewer of a work of this nature and size ought to do.

The section on Transcendentalism would be strengthened by the inclusion of the two articles on this movement published in the *Princeton Review* in 1839 and 1840, which were so good that Andrews Norton (arch Unitarian leader) had them reprinted in Boston during the controversy raised by Emerson and his ilk. I think they are among the best articles ever printed on the subject.

The checking and proofreading for the volume seems to have been exceptionally good. I did catch two errors. On page 116, second line from bottom, I suspect the reference to "the theme of section III" should be to "section IV." The second error hits my ego directly. The reference to my two articles on Denominationalism is garbled. The first should read, "Vol. 22, No. 4 (Dec. 1953)," and the second, "Vol. 24, No. 4 (Dec. 1954)." In both cases the pages noted are correct.

I think the publication of this work is an indication of the maturing of the study of the religious life of the United States. Henceforth anyone who does not consult it will publish on any aspect of religion in America at his peril, for his critics can now so easily determine whether he has neglected any important publications. I think it is a great work. No one can deny that it will be an indispensable one.

SIDNEY E. MEAD, *Southern California School of Theology*

LESLIE A. FIEDLER, *Love and Death in the American Novel.* xxxiv, 603 pp. Criterion Books, 1960. \$8.50.

MONUMENTAL in conception and nearly so in execution, this study gives an extensive review of the psychosexual, psychosocial and what might be called the psycho-aesthetic development of the Sentimental and Gothic genres of the European novel which offered possible patterns for our early fiction. Since the Sentimental dealt with the twin themes of seduction and marriage, it was unsuited to the stunted capacities of the American novelist who, unable to grow because of his "desperate need to avoid the facts of wooing, marriage, and child-rearing," could only produce a "juvenile" fiction. Major American writers were thus compelled to adopt the Gothic vein, and they typically handled the problem of evil only when it could be split off from adult sexuality. Prominent among their concerns, therefore, were brother-sister incest, the all-male sin of defiance of God, and the complex of feelings and fantasies associated with the American treatment of dark-skinned minorities. These, together with violence, make up the substance of our early fictional output. American Gothicism does indeed describe evil, horror, love and death, but it does so, says Professor Fiedler, as these are seen through the eyes of boys, not men.

LOUIS FRAIBERG, *Louisiana State University*

CHARLES G. SELLERS, JR. (ed.), *The Southerner as American.* ix, 216 pp. University of North Carolina Press, 1960. \$5.00.

JAY B. HUBBELL, *Southern Life in Fiction.* xii, 99 pp. University of Georgia Press, 1960. \$2.50.

IN the first of these volumes eight academic historians combine with a professor of American literature to argue that the "traditional emphasis on the South's differentness" and the "conflict between Southernism and Americanism" are historically wrong. They state this thesis in nine essays on the following subjects: "As for Our History" (John Hope Franklin); "Americans Below the Potomac" (Thomas P. Govan); "The Travail of Slavery" (Charles Grier Sellers, Jr.); "The Southerner as a Fighting Man" (David Donald); "Reconstruction: Index of Americanism" (Grady McWhiney); "The Central Theme Revisited" (George B. Tindall); "The Negro as Southerner and American" (L. D. Reddick); "An American Politics for the South" (Dewey W. Grantham, Jr.); and "The Southerner as American Writer" (C. Hugh Holman).

All of the authors are Southern born, reared and educated. All are young. All have distinguished themselves in the field of scholarship. All possess a healthy sense of skepticism and detachment. And all lack an emotional attachment to the moonlight and magnolia mythology that has tended to distort Southern history both for Southerners and non-Southerners alike. This is not to say, as John Hope Franklin points out, that he and his fellow essayists are unaware of "the distinctiveness and validity of a Southernism that springs from the physiographic, ethnic and experiential factors peculiar to the region." They are, of course, but, more to the point, they are concerned with understanding this "Southernism" and relating it to the greater national culture.

Missing from this galaxy of scholars is C. Vann Woodward who has just published his own series of essays on Southern history. But nearly every one of them at one time or another concurs with Woodward's interpretation of Southern history as being essentially "tragic" insofar as the South was, and in some respects still is, constantly at war with its own deepest values which are not peculiarly Southern at all, but rather Christian and American.

Southern Life in Fiction consists of three Eugenia Dorothy Blount Lamar lectures delivered at Mercer University in November, 1959, by Jay Broadus Hubbell, professor emeritus at Duke University. Like the authors of *The Southerner as American*, Professor Hubbell would be happy to see the disappearance of certain "elements in our Southern tradition," but he is also concerned to retain that which is worthwhile in the South's culture, history and literature. Of the three lectures, those on the literature of Virginia and Georgia best reveal Professor Hubbell's wit, urbanity and scholarship.

HOWARD H. QUINT, *University of Massachusetts*

C. VANN WOODWARD, *The Burden of Southern History*. xiv, 205 pp. Louisiana State University Press, 1960. \$6.50.

WHY THE NORTH WON THE CIVIL WAR. Edited by David Donald. xiii, 129 pp. Louisiana State University Press, 1960. \$2.95.

FOR one hundred years, historians and many others have been writing thousands of articles and books on the subjects of the causes of the Civil War, the fighting of it, the personalities in it and the results. In the centennial years, the publishing production on these themes is reaching a climax. The small volume of five essays, edited by David Donald of

Princeton University, is an interesting and thought provoking pebble on a mountain of literature.

These essays were first presented by the five authors at the Annual Civil War Conference at Gettysburg College in November, 1958. The foreword is written by Major General U. S. Grant, III, chairman of the United States Civil War Centennial Commission.

The first essay, "God and the Strongest Battalions," was written by Richard N. Current of the University of Wisconsin. His thesis supports the interpretation which is most often heard and read. Current states categorically that the prime cause of the defeat of the Confederacy "must have been economic." He proposes that although the South blundered, it is "impossible to prove, that the Southerners did a worse job with economic affairs than Northerners would have done under the same circumstances." The Confederacy suffered economic exhaustion before it was beaten on the battlefield.

T. Harry Williams, Boyd Professor of History at Louisiana State University, has contributed an essay entitled "The Military Leadership of North and South." This is the most interesting interpretation in the book. According to Williams the North won the war because Grant used the strategy of Clausewitz instead of Antoine Henri Jomini's. All of the West Point trained officers had studied the strategy of Jomini, one of Napoleon's brilliant officers. This strategy was insufficient for victory in the Civil War. "Lincoln's first generals did not understand that war and statecraft were parts of the same piece. But none of the Confederate generals, first or last, ever grasped this fact about modern war."

In "Northern Diplomacy and European Neutrality," Norman A. Graebner of the University of Illinois presents the more familiar story of the ultimate success of Northern diplomacy in keeping Great Britain and France out of the war on the side of the Confederacy. Although these nations declared their neutrality and thus recognized Southern belligerency in 1861, Southern hopes of European intervention were shattered in 1863 by the Union military victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg.

The most revolutionary thesis is presented in the essay "Died of Democracy" by David Donald. "The real weakness of the Confederacy was that the Southern people insisted on retaining their democratic liberties in wartime." The Southern soldiers disliked military discipline, disobeyed orders, elected their own officers, and remained individualists. The Confederate government preserved civil and political rights for their people.

The concluding essay, "Jefferson Davis and the Political Factors in Confederate Defeat" was written by David M. Potter. Potter places a good deal of the Confederacy's failure, and thus the Union's success, on the shoulders of President Davis and the one party system which prevented any alternative leadership. In contrast, Lincoln was a superior leader.

The Burden of Southern History is a valuable and thought provoking collection of eight essays by one of the few United States historians who is able to interpret history. All but one of them have appeared in print before. It is good to have them available under one cover. Each essay is a unit, but all have the common denominator of stressing some experience of the South or some lesson from Southern history.

In "The Search for Southern Identity," Vann Woodward points out that the "old monuments of regional distinctiveness" are disappearing in the "Bulldozer Revolution," but they still remain in the experiences of the Southern people. These are the experiences of military defeat, economic poverty and tragedy—all different from the national experience.

The second essay, "The Historical Dimension" is a notice to the historian to acknowledge the contribution of Southern men of letters to the portrayal of the Southern scene. According to Vann Woodward, the Southern writers since the 1930s have had a greater historical consciousness than the historians. The author's recognition of this is also indicated by the dedication of the book to Robert Penn Warren.

"John Brown's Private War" compares the development of the two myths concerning the abolitionist—the Southern villain and the Northern hero.

In "Equality: The Deferred Commitment," the author presents the thesis that three commitments were made by the North during the Civil War. The first was to preserve the Union. The second was to free the slaves and the last was to give the freemen equality. The first two were acceptable to Lincoln and the majority in the Union by 1863. The third was not and was mere political and economic expediency. The carrying out of this commitment has been deferred to the mid-twentieth century.

In "The Political Legacy of Reconstruction," Vann Woodward says that Negro suffrage was imposed in the South in a revolutionary manner, while it remained restricted in the North. He points out that Reconstruction was not "a Golden Age—for anybody. There is too much irony mixed with the tragedy."

"A Southern Critique for the Gilded Age" is the one essay which has not appeared in print before. In it Vann Woodward shows how three Yankee writers who were critical of life in the United States in the late

nineteenth century introduced a Southern Confederate veteran in the sympathetic note. Herman Melville did this in *Clarel*, Henry Adams in *Democracy* and Henry James in *The Bostonians*.

In "The Populist Heritage and the Intellectual," Vann Woodward says that the intellectual of the post-World-War-II United States has revolted from the Populist tradition which was supported by the intellectuals during the Great Depression of the thirties. The new critics equate Populism with the evils of democracy—including anti-Semitism and isolationism. Vann Woodward points out that these two aspects were not part of the Southern Populist movements.

The last essay is "The Irony of Southern History." In it, the author again emphasizes the differences in Southern experiences. The South, like the nations of Europe and Asia, has not participated fully in United States legends of innocence, virtue, success and victory. The nation and its historians should take stock of this.

ROBERT D. OCHS, *University of South Carolina*

ROBIN W. WINKS, *Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years*. xviii, 430 pp. The Johns Hopkins Press, 1960. \$6.50.

ONLY when they become shrill are voices from the attic of North America heard by the people who occupy the central space of this continent and appropriate to themselves the name American. Soon after the Civil War began, these attic voices did become shrill, in excitement and in fright. Canadian publishers and politicians forgot their disapproval of slavery in the South when 1) it was made clear that the war was not being fought over slavery, and 2) they realized that the existence of the Confederacy provided a balance of power on this continent that promised relative security for the British provinces. The "Trent" affair demonstrated the vigor of anti-Northern passions in British North America. An almost indefensible border was strengthened by more than ten thousand troops rushed from Britain, many in the huge "Great Eastern." But the North was in no condition to fight two wars; sane leadership prevailed and preserved the peace then and later, when equally disturbing incidents arose, like the seizure of the coastal steamer "Chesapeake," the raid on St. Albans, Vermont, and efforts to liberate Confederate prisoners on Johnson's Island, near Sandusky, Ohio. The only major victim of the ill-feeling was the reciprocity treaty of 1854. And Canadians considered it a small price to pay for the quickened nationalistic spirit that led them, in 1867, to confederation. The war that divided one nation helped create another.

In the title Canada is used to refer to all the lands now in the Dominion, and the author's remarkably thorough research covers them all from Vancouver Island to Newfoundland with much detail and yet with clarity. If the focus seems to be more on Canada than on the United States, perhaps it is necessarily so, for even today Washington is more clearly seen from Ottawa than Ottawa from Washington.

JOHN A. MUNROE, *University of Delaware*

JAMES Q. WILSON, *Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership*. x, 342 pp. The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1960. \$5.00.

URBAN renewal, open occupancy, desegregated schools and hospitals, and fair employment opportunities are social issues separating America's Negro citizens as much today as they divide the white community. Why is the Negro so disunited on racial goals? Why does he deplore a lack of "good" leadership?

Professor Wilson's monograph is primarily a study of the social forces and emerging leadership at work on Chicago's South Side. He quotes liberally from among 105 interviews with Negro civic leaders of the city. Numerous interracial movements, particularly the Urban League and the NAACP, and a few individuals like Representative William L. Dawson are treated in detail. Wilson concludes that the old order of leadership represented by either moderates of the upper class seeking such welfare goals as better schools and hospitals in Negro neighborhoods, or by militant lower-class organizers working for long range status goals including desegregated schools and open occupancy in real estate, is being replaced. The "new Negro" leader of the 1950s and 1960s is a young middle-class race relations professional man with white support specializing in achieving a single status goal, usually better housing.

President Kennedy's appointment of Robert C. Weaver as federal housing chief instead of William L. Dawson as Postmaster-General is symptomatic of the change.

KENNETH DAVISON, *Heidelberg College*

ROBERT J. HARRIS, *The Quest for Equality: The Constitution, Congress and the Supreme Court*. xiv, 172 pp. Louisiana State University Press, 1960. \$4.00.

THIS book, an outgrowth of the Edward Douglas White Lectures at Louisiana State University in 1959, is an investigation into the "equal protection" clause of the Federal Constitution. After examining the historical origins of equality in American law, Professor Harris analyzes the debate on the Fourteenth Amendment and concludes that the major-

ity of the members of the Thirty-ninth, Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses believed that the equal protection clause vested Congress with the power to afford people the full protection of rights when the states failed to do so; that Congress was the primary organ for the implementation of guarantees of equal protection (the Radicals did not trust the Supreme Court); and the equal protection clause meant absolute equality before the law.

In a perceptive analysis, in which he concentrates most of his attention on the problem of Negro rights, Harris notes that the Court contracted the equal protection clause from 1873 to 1935. However, virtually all the decisions prior to *Plessy v. Ferguson* stated that all racial discriminations perpetrated by the state were void. Therefore, the Plessy decision was "bad logic, bad history, bad sociology, and bad constitutional law." Beginning in 1935 the Court began to "return to the Constitution" with regard to equal rights. This resulted from the depression, anti-Nazi and anti-racist attitudes, the rise of the Negro economically and politically, and better prepared cases by Negroes and their backers. In discussing the "judicial burial of Jim Crow" since 1935 Harris praises the Court for its elimination of segregation but suggests that if the Court had based its decision in 1954 on the fact that the Plessy decision was not in accord with precedent rather than on the "quicksands of social psychology," it would have been on more solid ground and less vulnerable to criticism. Thus the decision in the Brown case was a great one but the opinion was not. Finally, he points out that the decision in *Bolling v. Sharpe*, by invalidating segregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia as a violation of the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment, returned to a merger of due process and equal protection so common in the Congressional debate on the Fourteenth Amendment. His conclusion is that the decisions on equal rights since 1935, and many before that time, are backed by impressive precedent, and are an expression of American revolutionary ideals as borrowed from the Stoics, the Christian Fathers, John Locke and the Puritans.

This is no esoteric study of constitutional law. Professor Harris' observations are well grounded in history, his argument is lucid and cogent, and the study as a whole serves as a clear refutation of the argument that the Supreme Court is operating outside of the Constitution in the field of equal rights for all Americans.

KENNETH B. O'BRIEN JR., *Colgate University*

AARON I. ABELL, *American Catholicism and Social Action: A Search for Social Justice 1865-1950.* 306 pp. Hanover House, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1960. \$4.95.

At long last the story of Catholic social action has been delineated and interpreted with authority. After a brief discussion of pre-Civil War charitable agencies, Professor Abell develops postwar battles for temperance, child care, institutional churches and the Sabbath in an urban welfare crusade. During the triumphant years of industrial capitalism and laissez faire, Catholics became deeply involved in the single tax of Henry George, labor violence, immigration and the evils of the city. By the early twentieth century laymen and priests were turning to social reform as an antidote to scientific Socialism, applying such remedies as mission work, settlement houses, protective legislation, social service schools and Americanization.

Professor Abell stresses the pioneering role of the laity until World War I, when the hierarchy began to assume responsibility for action in the social field. In the 1920s and 1930s social justice became a watchword. Depression brought more radical sympathy and deeper concern, World War II opened the doors to racketeering and Communist infiltration and postwar years witnessed a Catholic attack on Communist leadership, right-to-work laws and racial discrimination. Opening new vistas of urban and social history, the author has written with judicious criticism, pithy and bold appraisal, massive research, entertaining narrative and masterful scholarship. An indispensable bibliography is but one of his many invaluable contributions to a neglected area of American social history.

JOHN R. BETTS, *Boston College*

BERNARD BERELSON, *Graduate Education in the United States.* vi, 346 pp. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1960. \$6.95.

THIS is a solid, comprehensive report, grounded in fact but making warrantable projections from the data assembled. Mr. Berelson is not a mere computer. When speculation is called for, he does not hold back his own views. His forthrightness is refreshing. *Graduate Education in the United States* will be required reading for all of us in the trade, and fortunately there is scarcely a dull page in it.

In accomplishing his two-year study, Mr. Berelson made extensive use of five questionnaires, sent, respectively, to 92 graduate deans, a sample of graduate faculty members, a sample of 1957 Ph.D. recipients, the presidents of all the liberal arts colleges and teachers colleges in the

country and to all industrial firms employing over one hundred professional and technical personnel. Though he made these five groups work hard for him, they responded surprisingly well. He also went into the "field," holding many interviews, the most important of which were with a group of 41 consultants in the various disciplines. The book is divided into three sections. The first surveys the history of graduate education in America. The second looks at the present and speculates on the near future. Part Three devotes 44 pages to "Conclusions, Commentary, and Recommendations."

Mr. Berelson has positive answers for nearly every query about what has happened or is happening. His solidly arrayed facts put many myths to flight. Only a few of his fascinating fact-grounded observations can be presented here. His over-all conclusion is that America values the Ph.D. degree and will accept no substitute. Every university in the land intends to get into the doctorate business as soon as it has the minimum resources in faculty, library and laboratories. Mr. Berelson is not worried about this situation. The lesser institutions are bidding for excellent graduate teachers with a vigor which may well alarm the graduate schools whose faculties they are raiding, with considerable success. Reassuring, too, is the fact that universally the intention is to keep standards for the degree high and to preserve it as a research degree. There is a growing sentiment to require of the candidate at least a minimal amount of teaching experience or, failing that, some knowledge of the problems of college teaching.

Every informed reader of this report is certain to resist the author on some points. I shall pass over my other few objections to concentrate on one: his slighting appraisal of interdisciplinary studies (pp. 61-64), including American Studies. His general conclusion is that "despite everything that can be said about the arbitrary character of many of the present disciplines, a broader training does not seem to work well at the doctoral level." We have all heard the arguments: students are leery of taking a degree off the beaten path; the college employers are suspicious of the products; after the first enthusiasm, the lack of discipline in the new combination begins to show itself, etc., etc. In this small segment of his report Mr. Berelson's method breaks down. The American Studies degree is a new one. Statistical evidence about its worth is slight. At this point Mr. Berelson has to rely on what he has been told, not on what his figures tell him. What we should have wanted was a sixth questionnaire sent to all holders of this new degree. Are they unemployed? Are they homeless in the university community? Does no one love them? I think the ASA could confute Mr. Berelson

with a survey of its own. I hope it will try to. Of course, he confutes himself in a footnote on page 221. "There is always room for specialists in the interdisciplines that may themselves grow into autonomous fields, as they have in the past."

WILLARD THORP, *Princeton University*

LOUIS FRAIBERG, *Psychoanalysis and American Literary Criticism.* x, 263 pp. Wayne State University Press, 1960. \$5.95.

THIS is a useful, preliminary appraisal of the impact of psychoanalysis on critical theory and practice in America. Professor Fraiberg's conclusion is that American critics, though many had at some time or other read the writings of Freud, "did not inform themselves sufficiently about the facts of psychoanalysis."

The book falls into two parts. The first part, comprising four chapters, treats certain ideas of Sigmund Freud, Ernest Jones, Hanns Sachs and Ernst Kris which relate to art and literature. The body of psychoanalytic thought discussed is largely Freudian; it excludes the "heresies" of men like Adler and Jung. The second part, comprising six chapters, examines rather closely the application of these ideas by Van Wyck Brooks, Joseph Wood Krutch, Ludwig Lewisohn, Edmund Wilson, Kenneth Burke and Lionel Trilling. The critics, who fall in a rough chronological sequence, are also arranged in the order of a growing mastery of psychoanalytic thought, and of a more creative application of that thought to literature. A correlation thus appears to exist between "the progress of psychoanalytic ideas in our culture and the understanding of these ideas by literary critics."

IHAB HASSAN, *Wesleyan University*

BERNARD BAILYN, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study.* xvi, 147 pp. The University of North Carolina Press for The Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1960. \$3.50.

THIS volume is the third in the Institute of Early American History and Culture's excellent series on Needs and Opportunities for Study. Two earlier volumes considered science and Indian-white relations, areas that had been but little studied at the time of their publication. Unlike these two subjects, education, the author suggests in an original and stimulating introductory essay, has not suffered from neglect but "from an excess of writing along certain lines," from what Marc Bloch called the "Idol of Origins." Written largely by professional educators, earlier studies concentrated upon the role of formal instruction and upon the

origins of our modern school system and concepts of education. These works erred by failing to consider "the entire process by which a culture transmits itself across the generations," by ignoring the role of important traditional agencies such as family, community and church upon which the original settlers largely depended to perpetuate their culture. Only after the challenge of the American environment had resulted in a decline of the effectiveness of these agencies did this older informal and half-instinctive process eventually give way to a more formal and conscious program in which education became "an instrument of deliberate social purpose" and schools an increasingly important element. Already well under way by the end of the colonial period, this change was confirmed and accelerated by developments during the Revolution and has continued to shape the basic patterns of American education. Building on this general interpretation, the author in a comprehensive bibliographical essay evaluates the literature of the history of colonial education and suggests a large number of topics that need further investigation. A full list of references rounds out the study.

JACK P. GREENE, *Western Reserve University*

CEDRIC DOVER, *American Negro Art*. 186 pp. New York Graphic Society, 1960. \$10.00. Illus.

NATHANIEL WEYL, *The Negro in American Civilization*. xi, 360 pp. Public Affairs Press, 1960. \$6.00.

CEDRIC DOVER examines the art of the Negro from colonial times to the present and uses the fact that the Negro artist has been concerned with the general patterns of American art to indicate the extent to which artists assimilate their culture. While he asserts that the Negro artist has become an important member of the coterie of American artists, Dover maintains that this artist has made no attempt to submerge his racial identity. In the work thus produced there is some evidence of the inevitable social protest (especially in the recent painters), but seldom does protest itself become a dominant theme. The author seems extremely interested in artists like Edward Bannister and Henry Tanner. Bannister, a New England landscape painter, is perhaps best known as the founder of the Providence Art Club which later became the Rhode Island School of Design. Tanner, an early student of Thomas Eakins, left the United States in the last decade of the nineteenth century to study in Paris with Benjamin Constant and to find an artistic theme. Turning to Biblical literature, Tanner produced some great religious paintings which are now deposited in several major museums of this

country. Most of the artists have followed the lead of Bannister and have remained in the United States, choosing their themes from American life. Yet there have been those expatriates who have contributed significantly to the total output of the art of American Negroes.

American Negro Art surveys the work of more than one hundred and fifty artists and includes approximately two hundred illustrations. Although it is brief, the text presents an excellent introduction to an art fundamentally rooted in the American experience. The highly selective bibliography will prove useful to the general reader. The volume, unfortunately, presents only eight color plates.

The title of Nathaniel Weyl's book is misleading. Instead of an analysis or presentation of the role played by a minority group in American civilization, the reader is faced with a segregationist's diatribe which has as its central thesis the innate inferiority of Negroes. Veiled as a "scientific" study, the book is the work of a man who neither defines his terms nor considers current research on the theory of race. Each chapter is profusely documented with data selected to prove his central thesis. Occasionally he uses the work of bona fide anthropologists but uses it out of context in order to slant their work. Weyl is not totally unaware that there are those scientists who have already negated his major premises, but he dismisses their work as being ineffective by inferring that these scholars have been misled either by sentiment or by Communism. *The Negro in American Civilization* is representative of what happens when extreme racial prejudice and its superficialities cloud any pretense of scholarship. Weyl has used 360 pages to say what any chapter of the White Citizens Council could say in less than 360 words.

KENNY JACKSON, Tennessee State University

W. FLETCHER THOMPSON, JR., *The Image of War: The Pictorial Reporting of the American Civil War*. 248 pp. Thomas Yoseloff, 1960. \$7.50. Illus.

The Civil War: A Centennial Exhibition of Eyewitness Drawings. 153 pp. National Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1961. \$3.25. Illus.

MR. THOMPSON has revised and added illustrations (27) to his Ph.D. dissertation (Wisconsin), which was published and copyrighted on microfilm in 1959, under the title *The Pictorial Reporting and Propaganda of the Civil War*. His narrative deals with the artists, cartoonists and photographers, whose work has preserved the pictorial record of the Civil War—on the field, in camp and on the home front. The title should not mislead prospective purchasers into thinking that the book is a

pictorial record, for there is a very limited, though well chosen, representation of the riches of pictures which made the Civil War the first war in history to be amply depicted by men on the scene. The artists (Alfred and William Waud, Henri Lovie, Winslow Homer, Edwin Forbes, Arthur Lumley *et al.*) are the heroes of the act; the cartoonists (Thomas Nast, Frank Bellew, H. L. Stephens *et al.*) are the clowns and/or villains; while the photographers (Mathew Brady and Alexander Gardner) provide the role of workaday "straight men." Frank Leslie and Fletcher Harper, whose competing "weeklies" provided much of the "wherewithal," come in for due recognition.

The National Gallery catalogue of an exhibition numbering 281 drawings reproduces approximately 75 of the exhibited items in illustration of William P. Campbell's exceptionally well-written introductory narrative, "The 'Special Artist' Reports the Civil War." The "Notes" and "Appendix," as well as the "Catalogue" itself, contain invaluable information for the student and writer in search of facts about the artists and sources. More than half the exhibition was supplied from the collections of the Library of Congress. Other institutions and private collectors contributed notable portions.

ROY P. BASLER, *Library of Congress*

MILTON MELTZER, *Mark Twain Himself*. xii, 303 pp. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1960. \$10.00.

Mark Twain Himself is an informative pictorial biography of Samuel Clemens, and it is also a pictorial social history of his surroundings from 1835 to 1910. Through sketches and photographs the places that Clemens lived in or visited, the important events occurring and the people he knew are fully represented. Since Twain traveled widely over a great deal of the world the account is varied and interesting.

Milton Meltzer's method is to let Twain tell his own story to accompany the illustrations. Knowing Twain biography, Mr. Meltzer does not confuse passages from Twain's fiction with biographical facts, nor does he accept autobiographical reminiscences uncritically. When Mark's memory failed or the desire to fictionize prevailed, the editor sets the record straight.

All facets of Twain's life are fully and accurately covered against a backdrop of Tom Sawyer's Hannibal, the steamboats in their splendor, the vigorous gusto of the Gold Rush, the Gay Nineties and the new century. Mr. Meltzer has done extensive research to accumulate the documents and pictures reproduced, and he and his publishers have made a book that is lively and colorful. Reproductions of such items as Twain's first published story, his pilot's certificate and possibly the first "Mark

Twain" signature will delight Twain scholars. The accurate information will benefit the inquiring student, and the more than six hundred illustrations will attract anyone interested in photography.

E. HUDSON LONG, *Baylor University*

THE YOUNG REBEL IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. Edited by Carl Bode. vi, 170 pp. Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1960. \$3.50.

THIS volume contains, just as they were delivered during some period before 1960, seven lectures, the first series on American literature ever given at the American Embassy in London. The editor, Carl Bode, spoke on Thoreau, David Daiches on Whitman, Geoffrey Moore on Sinclair Lewis, Walter Bezanson on Fitzgerald, Lewis Leary on Mencken, R. W. B. Lewis on Steinbeck and Carlos Baker on Faulkner. At least two of the lectures contain notably original judgments, and all neatly fulfill the aim of the series: to convince the British public that in conformist United States "there is a vigorous American tradition of non-conformity, of dissent and criticism . . ." Transcending the central theme, each of the lectures is also a finished bit of analysis of the work of the assigned author. The reader can easily understand why the British public filled the hall on each occasion.

Perhaps the two most original judgments are those of Daiches and Baker. Daiches, who rates Whitman higher than many Americans would, finds that Whitman tried ". . . to come to terms with the nature of identity, . . . of personality; to explore new ways of relating a full relish of personal identity with a full savouring of life existing in the teeming world . . ." Whitman rebelled against the Victorian assumption that the poet must surrender to one of the supposedly incompatible alternatives of elegy or didacticism. He won for the future ". . . a new way of relating loneliness to love." Daiches' perception of the point is both complex and commendable.

How is Faulkner a rebel? Baker has to find the rebellion in the characters, not the author. Some of Faulkner's young rebels are those doomed to try to save their fellow men—Quentin Compson, for instance. Others are sinners, enemies, outcasts—such as Temple Drake. Hence Baker's title: "William Faulkner: The Doomed and the Damned."

One does not need to agree with all the judgments in this little book—this reviewer is doubtful about Moore's estimate of Sinclair Lewis—to perceive that it is an excellent brief introduction to seven American authors and one aspect of American literature.

HERBERT E. CHILDS, *Oregon State University*

American Calendar

Fall *1961*



MEMBERSHIP. Thomas F. Marshall, head of the English Department at Kent State University, has accepted the position of chairman of a newly created ASA Committee on Membership. He will plan and direct an organized program to obtain the membership of persons who would benefit from participation in ASA, including graduate students and scholars in other countries. He is a past president of the Ohio-Indiana Chapter of ASA.

HIGH SCHOOL. Two high schools in the Fairfax County, Va., system are experimenting with courses in American Civilization. Last year, with Larry Dowell as coordinator, McLean High School offered the first course. This year, Fairfax High School, with Elizabeth H. Rion as coordinator, is offering a modified version of the course at McLean. Teachers report that they "have been excited and stimulated in planning the course" and "are going ahead enthusiastically."

KEELE. The University College of North Staffordshire at Keele has become "the first and at present only fully integrated Honours programme in the United Kingdom" in American Studies. The program is based upon courses in American geography, history and literature and will incorporate the allied disciplines of politics, sociology, economics, philosophy and art history in an effort to obtain an "integrated analysis of the development and nature of American society." The first year will be devoted to a broad liberal arts background. The second year will include reading in American history and geography and the third in literature and political science, directed toward an "interdisciplinary synthesis with every aspect of the American being seen in relation to his entire existence." In the fourth year students will focus upon a "special subject" such as "Slavery and Secession" and "Naturalism and the Novel," using original source material and work-

ing in depth. Final examinations at the end of the fourth year "will be in a large measure inter-disciplinary." The course is presently limited to 12 students, but the expectation is that it will expand and will include a graduate program. . . . D. K. Adams of the Department of American Studies, Keele, has kindly provided this information.

NEW PROGRAM. A new program in American Studies leading to the M.A. degree began this year in the Graduate School of Boston College. Participating departments include English, government, history and sociology. Students will major in one department and minor in one or two others, with the program of each student determined by the major department. Courses in related disciplines may be taken as electives. The program will be administered by an interdisciplinary American Studies Committee.

JOINT SESSIONS. In addition to the joint sessions sponsored by various chapters and those arranged by the co-chairmen of the Committee on Professional Societies, Irvin Wyllie of the University of Wisconsin, presently in Sweden on a Fulbright, and Edwin H. Cady, University of Indiana, certain meetings have been the responsibility of individuals kind enough to assume it. Thus ASA is much indebted to Joseph Kallenbach, University of Michigan, for arranging meetings

with the American Political Science Association and to Joseph J. Kwiat, University of Minnesota, for similar service with the College Art Association. Recently Wayne Wheeler, director of the Kansas City Study of Adult Life, University of Chicago, has agreed to handle the joint programs of ASA with the American Sociological Association and certain other sociological organizations.

MVHA. A session on "The Novelists and Progressivism" was held under ASA sponsorship at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on April 21 in Detroit. Papers were read on "William Dean Howells: The Discovery of Society," by David Noble, University of Minnesota, and "Winston Churchill: The Progressive as Novelist" by Robert W. Schneider, College of Wooster. Miriam M. Heffernan, Brooklyn College, was commentator and Marvin Wachman, Colgate University, presided.

POLITICAL SCIENCE. At the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in St. Louis on Sept. 8, ASA sponsored a panel on "Politics and Literature." Donald G. Baker, Skidmore College, presented a paper on "Literature and the Political Scientist" and Louis D. Rubin Jr., Hollins College, on "Politics and Novelists." The papers were discussed by Milton C. Albrecht, University of Buffalo, and George Kateb, Am-

herst College. James F. Davidson, University of Tennessee, presided.

HISTORY. "American Humor" was the topic of a joint session of ASA with the American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch, at San Jose College on Aug. 30. Papers included "Will Rogers, American Humorist," Charles Larsen, Mills College; "The Psychology of Humor," Harvey Peskin, San Francisco State College; and "The Sociology of Humor," Cesar Grana, University of California, Berkeley. The meeting was arranged by the Northern California Chapter of ASA. Corinne L. Gilb, Mills College, presided.

NEW YORK STATE. The spring meeting of ASA of New York State was held at Harpur College, Binghamton, on April 22. The general theme was "The Role of the Intellectual in the Development of Our National Purpose." Harold Blodgett, Union College, presided at an afternoon session which included three papers. They were "An Historical Definition and Analysis of the Theme," Sterling Fishman, Harpur College; "John Dewey: The Progressive Tradition and American Education," M. T. Berger, State University College of Education, Albany; and "The Intellectual, the Mass Media and the National Purpose," Herbert Hackett, State University College of Education, Buffalo. Albert House, chapter president, presided at the

dinner session at which Marvin Wachman, formerly director of the Salzburg Seminar, spoke on "American Scholars as Ambassadors of Our National Purpose at Salzburg."

AFRICA. The quotation below is from a letter acknowledging books sent to an African scholar by ASA through a grant from the Freedom House Bookshelf Committee: "I am grateful to your Association in affording me such a wonderful opportunity to know more about the United States of America, a country which has been very helpful to mine. I have started to read the books and I find them very interesting and exciting. I feel it is but fitting if I seize this opportunity of introducing myself and asking whether there is any possibility of becoming a member of your Association. I received my primary education at the Methodist Boys' High School Freetown. . . . Before proceeding to Fourah Bay College, the University College of Sierra Leone, where I obtained the Diploma in Public Administration, 1961, I worked as a teacher." This letter is quoted because it is similar to several received from Africa and Asia. Does any ASA member wish to provide a gift subscription? The cost is \$6.00.

EUROPE. The European Association for American Studies held its annual conference Sept. 27-30 at the Free University of Berlin. The three day program was devoted to

"The American Promise Reconsidered, 1929-39." Topic of the opening session was "American Literature and the Theater in the Depression." H. Straumann, rector of Zurich University, presided. Papers included "The Impact of the Depression on the American Novel from 1929 to 1939" by G. A. Astre, University of Paris, and "The Marxist Trend in Literary History and Criticism in the 1930s" by R. Sühnel, University of Heidelberg. . . . The topic for the second day was "European Reactions to the New Deal." E. Fraenkel, Free University of Berlin, presided. Papers were presented on "The Impact of the New Deal on British Economic and Political Ideas" by R. H. Pear, University of London; "The Reception of the New Deal in Switzerland" by E. Wüest, University of Zurich; and "A Reappraisal of the New Deal in France from Roosevelt to Kennedy" by L. Franck, Director-General in the French Ministry of Finance . . . The topic for the final program was "The Individual Reconsidered—in Psychology and Sociology." Chairman was A. N. J. den Hollander, University of Amsterdam. Papers read were "Some Notes on the Influence of Psychoanalytic Ideas on American Personality Research" by Marie Johoda, Nuffield Research Fellow, Brunel College of Technology, London; "From Philosophy to Psychology: The Gestalt School in the U.S.A.,

1933-61" by Egle Becchi, University of Milan; and "The Influence of European Sociological Thought on the American Self Image" by R. Dahrendorf, University of Tübingen.

IN BRIEF. Dennis S. R. Welland, University of Nottingham, replaces George Shepperson, University of Edinburgh, as editor of the *Bulletin of the British Association for American Studies*. . . . ASA members who are also members of the Modern Language Association will be interested to note that PMLA in 1960 went to 1,515 libraries or institutions here and abroad, well distributed throughout the world *except* for Africa and Latin America which had 24 and 15 subscriptions respectively. *American Quarterly* has a total of 833 library subscriptions here and abroad with three for Africa and five for Latin America. . . . ASA members who have recently received research grants from the American Council of Learned Societies include Leonard K. Eaton, University of Michigan, for studies in the landscape architecture of Jens Jensen; Donna L. Gerstenberger, University of Washington, for a book on Yeats; F. DeWolfe Miller, University of Tennessee, for work on Whitman's third-person writings about himself; and John M. Muste, Ohio State University, to investigate the influence of the Spanish Civil War on literature.

Travel Grants of the American Studies Association and the Asia Foundation

For Asian Scholars Resident in the United States

Approximately 18 travel grants, not to exceed \$200 each, will be awarded by the American Studies Association to Asian scholars who wish to attend the joint sessions of the American Studies Association with the Modern Language Association which meets December 28-30, 1961, in Chicago or the American Historical Association which meets December 28-30, 1961, in Washington.

The Asia Foundation has supplied funds to the American Studies Association for financial assistance to highly qualified Asian scholars resident at the time in the United States whose primary interest is the American area of their respective disciplines to enable them to attend the meetings of the American Studies Association held jointly with the Modern Language Association and the American Historical Association. Recipients of grants are encouraged to attend other meetings of these organizations which interest them and to visit cultural and historic institutions in the vicinity.

Applications from citizens of Asian countries professionally interested in American Studies, American Literature and American History are invited. Both senior scholars and graduate students may apply.

Further information and application forms may be obtained from: The Executive Secretary, American Studies Association, Box 46 College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Applications must be received at the above address by November 15, 1961. Awards will be made by December 1, 1961.

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VOLUME XIII

WINTER 1961

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RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON Government and the Arts:
The W.P.A. Experience

MARCUS CUNLIFFE American Watersheds

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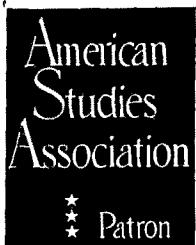
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AMERICAN QUARTERLY is published five times a year: March, May, August, October and December. *Editorial and Business Address:* Box 46, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4. *Subscription Rates:* \$6.00 a year; \$1.25 single copy. B. DeBoer, 102 Beverly Road, Bloomfield, N. J., distributor to the retail trade. Second-class postage paid at Philadelphia, Pa. Copyright 1961, Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania.

American Quarterly

The aim of AMERICAN QUARTERLY is to aid in giving a sense of direction to studies in the culture of the United States, past and present. Editors and contributors therefore concern themselves not only with the areas of American life which they know best but with the relation of those areas to the entire American scene and to world society.

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R O B E R T H . W A L K E R

George Washington University

The Poet and the Robber Baron

AS WE ATTEMPT TO GENERALIZE ABOUT THE PAST, WE COME TO RELY NOT only on a recognition of facts and conditions, but also on an appraisal of public reactions to those circumstances. Faced with events which almost invariably suggest contradictory social tendencies, the historian often stresses those developments which most consistently align themselves with the apparent popular disposition. The economic history of the late nineteenth century, for example, was characteristically studded with events which offer the opportunity for a two-sided interpretation of the period. For these years included not only the application of the telephone, but also the occurrence of the Great Strike of 1877; not only the laying of nearly 200,000 miles of railway track, but also the conduct of the Granger Cases enforcing regulation of railway practices; not only the incorporation of Standard Oil, but also the recruiting of Coxey's army. Industry, abetted by invention, government subsidy and virtual freedom from restraint, unified the nation and changed its way of life to an impressive extent. On the other hand, it was observed in 1890 that one-eighth of the population had come to own seven-eighths of the nation's wealth. If industry had brought canned goods to the pantry and fast trains to the station, it had also wrought deeper changes in the structure of our economic life, changes which had by no means won universal acceptance.

In determining which of these opposing factual outlines expressed the dominant character of the age, we come to rely on various forms of public expression—at the ballot box, in newsprint and elsewhere. The verse of an era offers one little used opportunity for sampling the public disposition. The citizen who writes and publishes poetry represents, collectively, a rather special segment of the public mind. More generally literate than his fellows, the verse writer often takes seriously his historical role as interpreter and prophet-spokesman for the group at large. His

medium of expression, when exhaustively surveyed, reveals a carefully balanced definition of public attitudes which do not emerge from more limited examinations of this important source.* The patterns of thought portrayed by this verse, if strongly enough defined, may raise some questions regarding the over-all characterization of this particular era.

Consistent with most historical evaluations, the poet did reveal a side to his nature which supported Gilded Age stereotypes in many respects. Calling on the deep-seated American respect for scientific and material advance, he praised the considerable achievement of industry. As a defender of the economic status quo, the poet often sentimentalized the condition of poverty and blamed the depressed laborer for his own plight; as a spokesman for the dignity of poverty and labor he was hypersensitive to criticism of the existing system; as a proponent of the "American way," he was avid in his censure of foreign ideologies which he feared might breed discontent and violence; as a philosopher of capitalism, he urged more industry, more millionaires and more enlightened stewardship of wealth. America, in the composite judgment of the poets in this camp, rested safely in the hands of the inventor, the entrepreneur and the public-spirited man of great wealth.

Disturbing to the prevailing picture of Gilded Age attitudes, however, is the fact that the poets who contributed in this way to the acceptance and defense of the economic status quo were greatly outnumbered by those who expressed contradictory sympathies. These were the poets who recalled Pullman Strikes and Granger Cases instead of palace cars and golden spikes, who walked in slums instead of parks, who viewed the spreading acres of farmland through the brown filter of a mortgage paper. Although they recognized the achievements of industry, they stressed the inequitable distribution of industry's rewards. The dominant character of the poetry written in protest rather than praise of the economic scene closed the debate as to whether America, in the eyes of its versifiers, had entered the twentieth century on a note of triumphant satisfaction or in a mood of vigorous objection. The Gospel of Wealth and the dogma of social Darwinism were rejected by a mandate of discontent. Thus the question of determining one segment of America's state of mind in this crucial period becomes not so much a debate between the defenders of

*This article is based on a reading of one chronological section of the largest repository of poetry in volume form: the Harris Collection of American Verse (Brown University). Inclusive in its intent, this collection reveals no weighted criteria typical of selective libraries. This study extends from 1876 through 1905, but concentrates on the 1880s and 1890s. Some six thousand volumes were perused, making this a virtually inclusive study of poetry published in this country during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. A coverage of this extent precludes the accumulation of biographical, regional or other data relevant to the individual versifiers.

the status quo and the advocates of economic reform, as a problem in describing the nature and character of this overwhelming body of protest literature.

As can readily be surmised from the following examples, economic protest in the Gilded Age was often innocent of either specific source or particular target, however bellicose its tone:

Labor . . . is simply going to swarm on its own roads, occupy its own homesteads, enjoy its own pleasure, work out the measure and shape of its own will, and leave you to fall in line in the one way that will assure you against annihilation.¹

A life-long labor spent upon the sod
That yields him scarcely half enough to eat . . .
There *must* be justice in the halls of God!²

Beyond these many verses which served principally to plow and fertilize the fields of unrest in preparation for the planting of constructive programs, there did emerge particular patterns of protest in both rural and urban settings.

The farmer's partisans could channel their complaints quite concretely, as witness this vernacular vilification of the tax agent and the money-lender:

An' there ain't very many farmers but what feel the lash
Of poverty—"bout Tax Time . . .
The mortgagees hide their money bags so's not to pay no tax,
While the mortgagors most haf' to sell the coats from off their backs
To raise the wind—"bout Tax Time.³

Speculators in farm commodities received the special enmity of the rural spokesmen; in "Smith's Corner in Hay," Mr. Smith was outfitted in the well-worn whiskers of Simon Legree.⁴ The railroads, whose routes and rates spelled the difference between success and failure, were viewed with awe and antipathy, often through the symbol of the grain elevators, "Castles . . . that . . . compel men's fear" with their power of "iron."⁵ The farmer had some special enemies and some special problems (over-expansion, the decline in land values and the decline in the purchasing power

¹ Horace Traubel, *Chants Communal* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1904), p. 67.

² Lloyd Mifflin, *Slopes of Helicon and Other Poems* (Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 1898), p. 35.

³ Will Templer, *Some Rustic Rhymes* (New York: Burr, 1900), pp. 46-47.

⁴ William A. Spalding, *My Vagabonds* (Los Angeles: Times-Mirror Printing, 1889), pp. 38-40.

⁵ Arthur Upson, *Westwind Songs* (Minneapolis: Brooks, 1902), p. 21.

of the farm-dollar) to which he gave particular attention in his verse; but his major protest paralleled closely the preoccupations of his urban contemporary.

In discussing poverty, unemployment and charity the spokesman for the urban poor cultivated a field of economic discontent quite similar to his rural neighbor's. Differences began to appear, however, as he approached such special subjects as living and working conditions. Here the most persistent complaint was against inadequate housing and unhealthful environment: the "hovels, dens, and ditches" in which the workers were forced to live, and the tenements in which they were forced to sleep often "Three or four in a single bed."⁶ Diet, perhaps oddly, received little attention unless it reached the starvation level; but other aspects of public health were criticized in some detail. The most often repeated grievance was against the pollution of air and water by the factories—air and water which the factory workers, if no one else, were forced to breathe and drink. Some of the most vivid lines were written in defense of the rivers, into which

A thousand factories poured a noisome flood
Of foul off-scorings and of poisoned waste . . .
Till the clear stream grew turbid, rank, and foul . . .⁷

The smoke which grimed the workers' faces and shut off the "pleasant glow of sunny skies" was railed against so often that the ugly black smokestack atop the factory became directly associated with "dank disease for the toilers."⁸ Seldom specific, the outcry against conditions leading to poor health among the workers was shot with such phrases as "unnamed stenches," "Dark pollution" and "tasteless, shoddy, adulterated products."⁹

Questions of housing and health led easily into questions of morality:

The foulest home and brutalizing lives,
Which bring forth brutal lives to fill the street,
Growing in moral filth, amid the cursed
Environment of shame and hate and sin.¹⁰

The poet was strongly interested in moral problems attributable to eco-

⁶ Ernest McGaffey, *Poems* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1895), p. 32; Ernest H. Crosby, *Broad-cast* (London: Fifield, 1905), p. 29.

⁷ George Perry, *By Man Came Death* (Boston: Crook, 1886), p. 15.

⁸ Florus B. Plimpton, *Poems* (Cincinnati: Plimpton, 1886), p. 40; Harry T. Peck, *Greystone and Porphyry* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1899), p. 48.

⁹ Ernest H. Crosby, *Swords and Plowshares* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1902), p. 90.

¹⁰ Perry, *By Man Came Death*, p. 22.

nomic causes, as exemplified by the fallen women who married for money, became kept women or entered houses of prostitution because "*they had no choice.*"¹¹ The economic orientation of this problem was brought out most emphatically by a poet who based his comments on a newspaper article which he quoted as follows: ". . . shop girls are often insulted on the streets by men who assume that they are immoral because they are poor."¹² Honesty, as well as virtue, was also felt to be inhibited by the worker's environment:

Right in the heart of sin and poverty,
Where Vice, unblushing and unvisored, walks
With his dark consort, Ignorance, up and down,
Quickly devouring up each little grain
Of virtue that dares sprout amid the filth,
Leering at laws and laughing down reforms;
Here where serfs of labor sometimes dream
Of being men and women some bright day
When they less hardly feel the cursed grind
Of getting honest bread . . .¹³

In the battle for existence necessitated by such an environment a general atmosphere of violence and lust pervaded. The young tough was pictured, cigar in mouth, lying and stealing as if by nature.¹⁴ The prevalence of broken homes and working mothers denied normal family affections, so that some verses even condemned parents for begetting children under slum conditions. Beauty was kept out of the workers' lives by the "windowed ugliness . . . appalling blackness" of their work-places and dwellings.¹⁵ Even religion, that final consolation of the oppressed, was feared lost in the extreme poverty that could not afford pews or offerings and would therefore feel unwanted in the house of God.¹⁶

If the workers' living conditions seemed bleak to the poets, their working conditions were even more depressing. The cause of exploited women and children aroused special sympathy; "The Wheel of Child labor" became a cruel "wheel of fire . . . and it burns to the very brain."¹⁷ Lines concerning the exploitation of women could be equally moving:

. . . women working where a man would fall—

¹¹ George M. Sloan, *Telephone of Labor* (Chicago: n. publ., 1880), p. 223.

¹² Crocket McElroy, *Poems* (Chicago: Scroll, 1900), p. 52.

¹³ Lillian B. Fearing, *In the City by the Lake* (Chicago: Searle & Gorton, 1892), p. 167.

¹⁴ A. Fairhurst, *My Good Poems* (St. Louis: Christian, 1899), pp. 145-48.

¹⁵ Edward W. Watson, *Songs of Flying Hours* (Philadelphia: Coates, 1898), p. 91.

¹⁶ Susan B. Roberts, *Short Poems* (Elmira, N.Y.: Empire, 1891), pp. 37-39.

¹⁷ Don M. Lemon, *Ione and Other Poems* (New York: Broadway, 1905), p. 235.

Flat-breasted miracles of cheerfulness
 Made neuter by the work that no man counts
 Until it waits undone . . .¹⁸

With the advent of the typewriter and telephone, however, a bright spot appeared on the woman's economic horizon. The entry of the female stenographer and switchboard operator into the hitherto male realm of the business office raised questions of propriety in some Victorian minds, but such objections appeared petty indeed when such relatively emancipated occupations were contrasted with the lot of women workers in the mills and factories.

Protests against long hours and low wages, as might be expected, occupied the bulk of the verse comment on conditions of labor. Complaints against hours of labor were most spectacular, whether they pertained to home labor:

My eyes are aching, my brow's on fire,
 I work through the night till my thin hands tire;
 I lie down to sleep on the wooden floor,
 Where my lamp burns low by the cellar door.¹⁹

or to the factory girls who stitched from dawn till dusk. The figure of labor in chains, a common one, arose from the idea that long hours on the factory treadmill completely dominated the worker's life and left room for nothing else, not even thought nor prayer. The protest against low wages tended to be less striking in language, doubtless because the figures cited were considered dramatic enough:

Fourteen cents are all the wages
 One can earn in the longest day.²⁰

Thus did the poet heartily condemn a world which called for long exposure to fatigue, poor health and immoral conditions for so small a compensation.

This body of verse also reflected a strong indignation at the unsafe and unsanitary conditions under which labor was typically forced to work at this time. On both these counts the miners, trapped "like moles" in "dull and damp" air, received special attention.²¹ For the miner, "grim

¹⁸ Edwin A. Robinson, *Captain Craig* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1902), p. 21.

¹⁹ From "A Sewing Girl's Temptation," in Ellen A. Dodge, *Poems and Letters* (N.p.: Printed for the family, 1894), p. 32.

²⁰ Perry Marshall, *Launching and Landing* (Chicago: Kerr, n.d.), p. 169.

²¹ Nathan H. Dole, *Peace and Progress. Two Symphonic Poems* (Boston: Private ed., 1904), p. 15; John H. Mackley, *Idle Rhymings* (Jackson, O.: n. publ., 1885), p. 79.

death is near,/Unseen and terrible, alert to smite," and the occasions when death did smite were important ones for the poets.²² Mass deaths due to explosions or cave-ins testified to the small regard in which the operator held the lives of his employees. Outside the mine, the place singled out for its unsanitary conditions was the "reeking basement" with its poor light and "poisoned vapors" in which the tobacco-stemmer worked, although tirades against the pervasive gloom and filth of factories of whatever sort were abundant.²³ The cotton mill and the railroad bore special opprobrium for the maiming accidents they caused. The railroad served as jumping-off place for greatly varied comments; poets indicted the railway for poorly set rails, soft embankments, insufficient safety precautions and the general exploitation of life for profit:

Only a company getting rich!
In an undertaker's style,
With a life for every switch
And a funeral for every mile!²⁴

The poets exhibited an increasing awareness of the unequal battle between man and machine. Shaking their heads against the insistent machine-made racket, they objected to the "anvils' ceaseless ringing," the mechanical needles that "buzz in monotonous hum" and the constant clack of the telegraph, "Of madness being on the border."²⁵ Among the poets, Ernest Crosby recognized most vividly and accurately the effects, both physical and psychological, of machine on man. Long hours of monotonous application produce "high tension," he wrote; and he capped his analysis with the statement—literal in its intentions—that machines "have eaten up the men and women."²⁶ Many of the poets realized that men of flesh and blood were being asked to keep pace with the tireless machines, and that the result, over long hours, could only prove disastrous for the human mind and body.

The interest of the poet in the "other half" was voluminous. Including both rural and urban subjects, the poet disseminated a sense of unrest stemming from the prevalence of poverty, poor living and working conditions. Individual attitudes ranged from stereotyped sentimentaliza-

²² John E. Barrett, *Fugitives and Other Poems* (Buffalo: Peter Paul, 1897), p. 42.

²³ Eugene F. Ware, *Some of the Rhymes of Ironquill* (11th ed.; New York: Putnam; Topeka: Crane, 1902).

²⁴ E. T. Kirschbaum, *Prose and Poetry* (New York: Alden, 1889), from "Only a Brakeman," pp. 32-33.

²⁵ Fanny B. Cook, *Fancy's Etchings* (San Francisco: Winterburn, 1892), p. 216; Anna J. Grannis, *Skipped Stitches* (Keene, N.H.: Darling, 1896), p. 18; Charles A. Mackintosh, *Memorial* (Cambridge, Mass.: University, 1890), p. 75.

²⁶ Crosby, *Swords and Plowshares*, pp. 79-82.

tions of poverty to acute examinations of such complex questions as the effects of machines upon men. A strong moral, and sometimes sociological, tone pervaded these verse discussions which arose from economic inequities; but there was also a distinct body of protest verse, harsh and specific, which attached itself to such issues as long hours, low wages, unsafe and unsanitary working conditions. The poet was manifestly disturbed by what he saw in the lower economic strata; his appraisal of this situation, in composite terms, showed a readiness to reconsider some of the basic facts of economic America.

For some poets the "other half" meant the top fraction of the economic stratum; and they were as disturbed by their examination of the behavior and environment of the rich as others had been by the behavior and environment of the poor. Attacking, one by one, the most notorious of their wealthy contemporaries the poets upbraided them for the heedless brutality of their business principles and for the transparent hypocrisy of their apologetic charitable postscripts. The verse portrait of the economically successful was strikingly Veblenesque. It depicted a leisure class, replete with royal titles and trappings, and emphasized the conspicuously wasteful consumption by which the newly rich distinguished themselves. The poet, representing a busy, pietistic America, bridled noticeably at this immoral display of idleness, effete Anglophilia and casual sybaritism. What turned his disdain into anger, however, was the callousness of the rich man's indifference to the poor, the openness of the parasite's disregard for the social body off which he lived:

I soar above the mass,
Look down upon the poor;
I try to keep them where they are,
In poverty secure.²⁷

Against this background of complaint directed at both extremes of the economic scale, many poets developed what might be very broadly termed economic philosophies. Relatively few of the versifiers offered constructive critiques of the system, but they came forth in great numbers to locate the source of the inequities they found around them. Among specific targets, the large-scale business unit absorbed most of these essays in marksmanship. Any group or single organization which had grown sufficiently large to dominate its field was considered fair game. The Standard Oil Company, the "sugar trust," the "Coal Barons" and the "railroad monopolies" were identified through the sights of individual poetic snipers; but as a group they preferred to fire random salvos at all

²⁷ Stephen W. Wright, *Grandpa's Rhymes* (Lowell, Mass.: n. publ., 1885), p. 7.

overlarge comers.²⁸ Epithets such as "monster Corporation," "the Octopus," "hydra-headed monopoly" and "Monopoly's shark" indicated the tenor of their sentiments.²⁹ The fear of monopolistic power was graphically depicted:

Onward unceasingly moves a huge cylinder,
Grinding, levelling city and field . . .
Falling beneath it, merchants, workmen,
Helplessly struggle,
Quickly to yield . . .

Wrecks of the workshops, factories smokeless,
Crumble before it, waiting decay;
Factories greater, rising behind it
Glow with the furnaces,
Capital centered, massing, in union,
Handle the levers,
Quickly to sway nations and laws in their way.

Ruthless Monopoly, thou art the cylinder,
Moving, grinding, levelling all . . .
Either the people, through ballot or battle
Handle the levers,
Or in the fall — slaves they are all.³⁰

As this selection so well illustrates, the large business unit was pictured not only as synonomous with power and greed, but also as literally destructive to the competitive system; many of the complaints against it centered on this aspect. The tentacled prehensile beast became a cylinder, as above, or a great wheel, grinding the small businessman into extinction. The "heartless Trusts/That kill all competition" limited production for their own good, engaged in shoddy practices unknown in times of free competition, and took advantage of their unfair size to upset the natural economic balance.³¹ There were some poets who upheld the economic status quo, or who indirectly accepted the role of big busi-

²⁸ E. A., *Yale Jingle Book* (New York: Sterling, 1900), n. pag; Myra B. Helmer, *Child's Thoughts in Rhyme* (Chicago: Chicago Legal News, 1903), p. 36; John D. Hylton, *Knights of the Plow* (Palmyra, N. J.: Hylton Grange, 1891), p. 23.

²⁹ W. Walker Hanna, *My Early Random Hits* (Philadelphia: Dukes, 1898), p. 23; Philander C. Johnson, *Songs of the G.O.P.* (Washington, D.C.: Neale, 1900), p. 71; George M. Major, *Peril of the Republic and Other Poems* (New York: Putnam, 1884), p. 3; Kenney, *Some More Thussettes*, p. 24.

³⁰ Valentine Brown, *Poems* (Portland, Ore.: n. publ., 1900), pp. 66-67.

³¹ Frank D. Bullard, *Cupid's Chalice and Other Poems* (New York: Abbey, 1901), p. 64; John H. Hirt, *Social Poems* (Great Falls, Montana: publ. by the author, 1900), p. 66; John F. Cruff, *Poems and Squibs* (Providence: Townsend, 1900), pp. 10-11; E. T. Kirschbaum, *Times* (N. p.: n. publ., 1899), pp. 9-11.

ness in general terms; but there were very few who were willing to rise specifically to the defense of large-scale enterprise. If the reaction of the poets can be taken as a fair sample, the explicit use of social Darwinism to justify industrial accretions was a failure. In the following lines one poet debated this very rationale:

Brothers, shall we place reliance
On the men of modern science,
Who commend the great corporations
To subserve the public good?
Or bewail their power controlling,
As the knell of freedom tolling . . . ?

From the loading of the question, the answer supplied is not surprising:

Ne'er before has time recorded
Such increase of millions hoarded,
Such a fierce and bitter struggle
Of the weak against the strong;
Men with itching palms unheeding
Freedom's right or poor man's pleading
As their stocks and shares they juggle,
In a carnival of wrong.³²

The phrase "as their stocks and shares they juggle" calls attention to another area of economic blame already suggested in several of the previous quotations. As American enterprise shifted from its industrial to its financial stage an impressively large group of poets, making their observations from various contexts, stood ready to disclaim the symptoms of this change. Overlapping slightly with the anti-monopolists and representing rural as well as urban points of view, this group underlined the responsibility of those who sought to control the economy by purely financial, rather than industrial, means. Their villains were the "money kings," the "usurers of banks," and the "Corporation lords who . . . water stock/ With sweat of others' brows."³³ The figure of Shylock received renewed prominence, while Christian counterparts, such as Hanna and Morgan, were cast in similarly reprehensible roles. The banker became a "vulture" perched midst "Envy and Pride, and Lust and Greed."³⁴ The bondholder was accused not only of "grade crossing murders" but also of keeping

³² Peter Grant, *By Heath and Prairie* (Chicago: Magnus Flaws, n.d.), p. 89.

³³ Ernest H. Crosby, *Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable* (3d ed.; Boston: Small, Maynard, 1901), p. 25.

³⁴ George F. Viett, *"Thou Beside Me Singing" and Other Poems* (Philadelphia: Ziegler, 1900), pp. 132-33.

the indebted farmer totally dependent.³⁵ Illustrating the special antipathy of the rural citizen to the financial class came the following lines:

He [the farmer]'s opposed by a class with a stealthy-like tread,
And cruelly swindled by base financiers—
That great moneyed power which companies wield
For their profit, alone, and the husbandman's harm,
Possesses itself of the fruits of his field,
And afterwards pockets the whole of his farm.³⁶

These men who controlled the money were accused of conspiring to limit its circulation (as were the political "gold-bugs") in order to hoard it greedily in their "marble grotto."³⁷ Nearly all of these condemnations centered on the deification of money to the detriment of public welfare:

Money is our dream ideal; money is our highest goal;
Money—money—and for money we crowd out the human soul . . .
Stocks and bonds are more than honor. If our brother's blood is shed,
We will overlook the murder, if they pay us for our dead . . .
. . . If workmen ask for higher pay
We will shoot them down like cattle on the open, broad highway.³⁸

Grouped with the banker, the bondholder and the moneylender was the speculator. Sometimes he was pilloried in a deceptively friendly manner, as in this spelling book catechism:

Is it a-live?
Oh yes, it is a-live: it is a stock-bro-ker.
What can he do?
He can knock off hats.
Why is he so proud?
He is not proud, he is on-ly calm.
Will he take an or-der?
Oh yes, you bet he will take an or-der!

Oh fie! See the fight!
No, it is no fight; the men are on-ly bus-y.
Does it hurt to be there?
No, it does not hurt; it is nice to be there.
The stock is up an eighth.

³⁵ Mark S. Hubbell, *Various Verses* (Buffalo: n. publ., n.d.), pp. 89-90; James O'Connor, *Works* (New York: Tibbals, 1879), pp. 259-60.

³⁶ Martin Rice, *Rural Rhymes and Poems From the Farm* (Kansas City, Mo.: Millitt & Hudson, 1877), p. 186.

³⁷ Ephraim Terry, *Our Pumpkin Vine, and Other Poems* (New York: publ. by the author, 1883), p. 49.

³⁸ James A. Edgerton, *Songs of the People* (Denver: Reed, 1902), pp. 57-58.

Are they go-ing for the stock?
 Oh no, they are go-ing for the eighth.³⁹

More often the attack was overtly malicious, as when the "stock wizards" were made to substitute for the three notorious witches of *Macbeth* in which roles they brewed "Workman's savings, workman's bread," "a miner's sweat and blood" to produce a broth of gain and fraud.⁴⁰ In better days, according to one poet, "Stock gambling and Futures, and Corners in Food" would have been punished; several of his colleagues joined him in specially deplored any gambling affecting the national food supply and the precarious well-being of the marginal farmer.⁴¹ Sympathy was accorded both to the poor, who would have to pay a penny a loaf more for their bread on account of "A Corner in Wheat," and to the farmers who were often victimized by speculation in grains.⁴² Although speculation in agricultural commodities captured the most attention, there was also condemnation of other manipulated conditions ranging from land booms through gas booms.

Wall Street, as the home of the financier, came to have a pejorative connotation all its own. In his milder moods, the poet referred to it as a place where education was dearly bought; in a more severe frame of mind he associated the "Great mausoleums" of greed which lined its sidewalks with public calamities such as the infamous Black Friday.⁴³ Morbid as were the following lines from a verse called "The Genius Loci of Wall Street," they could not be called atypical; and they represented at least in spirit the collective poetic reaction to those who led America into its great age of finance capitalism:

Down in a wonderful city, near to the foulest slums,
 Where squalor and crime are rife, and the tide flows turgid with greed,
 Where all are greedy and blatant, where peacefulness never comes
 There squats a ravening reptile, Arachne, the Spider Queen. . . .
 Her prey is human muscle, with the products of honest toil . . .⁴⁴

³⁹ *Stock Exchange Primer* (New York: Sears & Cole, 1882), pp. 1, 11.

⁴⁰ Albert F. Kercheval, *Dolores and Other Poems* (San Francisco: Bancroft, 1883), pp. 431-33.

⁴¹ *Proceedings at the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Connection of Caleb Arnold Wall with the Worcester County Press, 1837-1887*. (Worcester, Mass.: Seagrave, 1887), p. 27.

⁴² George Horton, *Songs of the Lowly and Other Poems* (Chicago: Schulte, 1892), p. 36; Spalding, *My Vagabonds*, pp. 38-40.

⁴³ Edward Doyle, *Haunted Temple and Other Poems* (New York: Knickerbocker, 1905), p. 70; *Centennial of the Providence National Bank* (Providence: n. publ., 1891), p. 37.

⁴⁴ George W. Sears, *Forest Runes* (New York: Forest & Stream, 1887), p. 67.

This "Spider Queen," the poets feared, was about to devour the land of the free.

Some poets, although relatively few, sought to do more than place the blame for economic inequities. Several among them indicated their beliefs and recommendations simply by endorsing one of two spokesmen for the "have nots": Henry George or Edward Bellamy. With the possible exception of Peter Cooper, who was credited for the "altars to Labor he reared," these two men had no rivals as constructive thinkers whose ideas, if pursued, were to have rescued the then dispossessed.⁴⁵ Henry George received the greater poetic acclaim; one entire volume of verse was devoted to celebrating the events, both major and minor, of his life.⁴⁶ Unfortunately the acolytic zeal of his expicators tended to render his ideas less meaningful than they were. Only one poet, however, had the temerity to criticize the cant of "Mr. Buncombe George"; and he felt compelled to cloak his criticism behind an imaginary dialogue between George and the Pope.⁴⁷ Henry George's death, although it did not lead to any clearer understanding of his ideas on the part of the poet, did lead to his virtual canonization in the halls of verse. Richard Hovey called him the "Bayard of the poor" and other poets underlined his role as prophet and martyr:

We had a prophet and we knew him not.
Another age will rate thee at thy worth,
. . . And, O the poor,
How true a friend they've lost in thee!
Who ever plead their cause with tongue and pen,
And gave a plan to help them and the race. . . .
He was a martyr to a holy cause . . .⁴⁸

References to Edward Bellamy were neither so numerous nor so enthusiastic, though cries of "Make haste, deliver us, O Bellamy," could have been heard on a few loyal lips.⁴⁹ The interest here was in a work and not a man, and that work, *Looking Backward*, published in 1888, had attracted an impressive amount of attention by the end of the next decade. There were enough verses and volumes which borrowed Bellamy's title, even, to make *Looking Backward* second only to "The Man with the Hoe" as a popular catch-phrase among poets interested in the

⁴⁵ Helen H. Rich, *Dream of the Adirondacks and Other Poems* (New York: Putnam, 1884), p. 138.

⁴⁶ Frances M. Milne, *For To-day* (San Francisco: Barry, 1905).

⁴⁷ Hugh Flattery, *Pope and the New Crusade* (New York: Knox, 1887).

⁴⁸ Richard Hovey, *Along the Trail* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1898), p. 104; James A. Edgerton, *Voices of the Morning* (Chicago: Kerr, 1898), p. 97.

⁴⁹ Warren Holden, *Many Moods* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1895), p. 102.

economic scene. Since the followers of Bellamy avoided personalizing their loyalties and thus escaped the messianic intensity of the Georgeites, their contributions mirrored their model more faithfully and contributed more rationally to the discussion of economic issues.

In order to appreciate the effective impact of the poet's economic proposals there is no need to delve deeply into the details of the Single Tax movement or the non-competitive utopia described by Bellamy. In essence the poet had but two constructive plans: one called for increased participation by the government in the economic arena, and the other offered encouragement for the organization of the workingman. The first of these proposals was often couched in terms more political than economic; its advocates included many of the followers of George and Bellamy as well as some factions of the socialist persuasion. The specific demands made by this group centered on state control of railroads and mines or government intervention on behalf of labor. The role of the government in national finance was also thrown open for prolonged discussion; suggested revisions ranged from the plea that the state take currency control out of the hands of the private banks, to a panacea based on a drastic corporation tax which was to have provided the government its entire revenue. One of the more interesting verses in this category pointed out that the proper political leadership for the country should involve not only skilled statecraft but also a sound grasp of the techniques and problems of science and industry.⁵⁰ Too often, however, the comments in this category were frustratingly vague, as witness one verse which merely queried "Is it not time to think of those who labor?" or another which contented itself with calling on Uncle Sam to "Contrive some plan to help us through."⁵¹ Frequently fuzzy and widely varied in detail, this composite comment had as a common element the conviction that increased governmental control over economic measures was necessary in order to lessen the differentiation between the extremes of wealth and poverty, capital and labor.

The most positive and aggressive answer to the economic questions of the day emerged from those, once again relatively few in number, who advocated the organization of the laboring force. This urge to organize was comparably expressed in both agricultural and industrial contexts, albeit the rural movement, diluted as it was by educational and social emphases, took on a considerably milder tone. The Farmers' Institute, beginning in the 1880s, stressed the economic defense of the rural citizen through education; the poets participated by urging attendance and by

50 Crocket McElroy, *Poems* (Chicago: Scroll, 1900), pp. 82-83.

51 Emma C. Schafer, *Thoughts on Social Problems and Scripture Readings in Verse* (Pasadena, Cal.: publ. by the author, 1900), p. 9; Sol Fry, *Poems*, p. 168.

describing the proceedings. The semi-social occasion of the Institute's meetings brought forth some light joshing under which lay a profound respect and appreciation for its basic function:

But science came, a shining light,
And stayed our hands from toil,
And taught us how to do things right
And till the virgin soil . . .⁵²

The Patrons of Husbandry, or Grange, founded in 1867, remained a predominantly social institution in some neighborhoods. Granger poets frankly stressed its atmosphere of "social mirth and friendly glee" and reveled in those secret initiations of marvelous complexity.⁵³ The Grange also fostered interchange of more serious ideas and information as well as prayer and oratory; the latter, judging from the verse, must have served valiantly in shoring up the sagging rural ego:

Time was when rich men and esquires
Were held in great renown;
Today, before the farming world,
The greatest men bow down.⁵⁴

In most localities, however, verses read at Grange functions or signed by Grangers reflected a much greater social consciousness. "The Ploughholders Ride in the Bondholder's Wake" was the title of a poem read at a Grange picnic in 1877, and other verses associated with Grange occasions complained of speculation or agitated for higher prices for farm commodities.⁵⁵ The membership was exhorted on the advantages of a united front in a manner more often associated with pleas to the industrial worker:

Farmers often work eighteen hours a day . . .
Farmers, 'rouse to your noble stand,
Others have rights which they demand,
Why not you have a rightful share
When it is honest, just, and fair?⁵⁶

⁵² From "The Farmer's Institute," in James B. Elmore, *Lover in Cuba and Poems* (Alamo, Ind.: publ. by the author, 1901), p. 131.

⁵³ William Lambie, *Life on the Farm* (Ypsilanti, Mich.: n. publ., 1883), p. 72; Ward Sprague, *Billy Dash Poems* (Sandy Creek, N. Y.: Mungor, 1878), pp. 107-10.

⁵⁴ From "Rumford Grange Field Day," in Lucretia T. Howe, *Home Songs and Chronicles of the Ellis* (Rumford Falls, Me.: Rumford Falls Publishing, 1899), p. 145.

⁵⁵ O'Connor, *Works*, pp. 259-66; William F. Rubottom, *When I Was Living at the Grange and Other Poems* (Buffalo Gap, Texas: Girand, 1897), p. 12; W. L. Thordyke, *Simply Stuff* (Loveland, Colo.: publ. by the author, n. d. [1899?]), p. 87.

⁵⁶ Venelia R. Case, *Grange Poems* (Bloomfield, Conn.: n. publ., 1892), p. 45.

Others, alerting the Grangers, dwelt on the advantages of rural cooperatives or fomented group resentment against such miscellaneous "serpents" in the farmer's Eden as trusts, monopolies, boards of trade, stockyards, railroads, capital, whiskey, fashion and pride.⁵⁷ Verse pertaining to the Agricultural Wheel, the Farmers' Alliance and other rural organizations also appeared, but it was predominantly political rather than economic in its appeal. The transition of the farmer's institutions from the function of organizing a working force for economic purposes to that of marshaling a voting force for political purposes was evident in lines such as these:

The Lights are out in Grangers' Hall;
 But in the campaign next fall
 They'll come on again, for be it known
 Young blood will henceforth rule the town.⁵⁸

Some of the verse pertaining to the organization of industrial labor paralleled the rurally oriented comments in stressing social rather than economic activities. One poet advocated the establishment of a "People's Institute," directly comparable to the Farmers' Institute, which was to have operated in a slum environment to alleviate the burden of the worker largely through education.⁵⁹ When specific unions were mentioned, such as the Ancient Order of United Workmen or the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the poetry typically commemorated the social rather than the aggressive aspects of unionization. The Knights of Labor, who boasted 700,000 members by 1885, were apt to be the subject of harmless comparisons with knights of more chivalric days. The American Federation of Labor, founded in the mid-eighties and claimant of one million members by 1902, was virtually ignored.

Although the poet failed to identify himself with the cause of particular unions in any way that would have pleased a labor organizer, he did sound a clear, if generalized, rallying call to the cause of union:

Let workers unite!
 The brain and the hand
 Be nerved for the fight
 Now shaped in this land.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ James W. Wharf, *Promiscuous Poems* (Olney, Ill.: publ. by the author, 1893), pp. 23-24; J. W. Temple, *Sheaf of Grain* (Knoxville, Ill.: Republican Book and Job Print., 1890), pp. 249-50.

⁵⁸ Joseph W. Parmelee, *Then and Now* (Newport, N. H.: Private ed., 1895), p. 93.

⁵⁹ Lillian B. Fearing, *In the City by the Lake* (Chicago: Searle & Gorton, 1892), p. 167.

⁶⁰ Edward S. Creamer, *Adirondack Readings* (Buffalo: Moulton, 1893), p. 60.

Sometimes he made his point for organization simply by addressing workingmen as "brothers," "comrades," or by prophesying the coming of a "Lincoln of Labor" to free the wage-slave.⁶¹ The composite attitude of those who dealt with organized labor was apt to show encouragement capped with caution. Workingmen, to quote a representative verse, had the right "To band together in their own defense,/Or with the money magnates unite" to end "industrial civil wars"; but labor must never "scorn the public" in a selfish battle for wages alone.⁶² Labor's association with "radical" ideologies automatically invoked the disapproval of most poets, however sympathetic they might else have been to the general cause of the worker.

It was in his successive reactions to the three major events on the labor front that the poet demonstrated his increasing sympathy for the laborer. The Great Strike of 1877 provoked very few comments, and these centered on the "waste of so much precious wealth" and the lawless commotion which "chills the circling life of enterprise."⁶³ Although no poet rose to defend the victims of the Haymarket Affair at the time, at least one poet found it in himself to understand and, in a measure, defend the anarchic impulse which was reputedly involved. A more pointed defense of labor's side of the case was exhibited in a verse titled "Dynamite" and dated 1886. Here the explosive was termed the friend of hunger and poverty, and the verse concluded:

Your gold can bribe me not, I [dynamite] fling your chains away to rust;
I sweep the earth with giant gales—remember ye are dust!⁶⁴

And, at a greater chronological distance, another poet robed Governor Altgeld in lavish praise for pardoning the anarchists who remained in jail by 1892. By the time of the Pullman Strike the poets were alerted in greater numbers, and their reactions ran the full gamut. At one extreme were protests penned against the "spirit of evil" shown by the strikers "Who vent their spleen with torch and force"; while at the other extreme the strikers were completely vindicated.⁶⁵ Between these two

⁶¹ Belle Van Derveer, *Soul Waifs* (Buffalo: Peter Paul, 1895), p. 73; John W. Lloyd, *Red Heart in a White World* (2d ed.; Westfield, N. J.: publ. by the author, 1898), p. 8; Lucien V. Rule, *When John Bull Comes A-Courtin' and Other Poems* (Louisville: Caxton, 1903), p. 25.

⁶² Robert Whitaker, *My Country and Other Verse* (San Francisco: Barry, 1905), pp. 131-32.

⁶³ Drummond Welburn, *American Epic. A Concise Scenic History of the United States* (Nashville, Tenn.: Private ed., 1891), p. 233; Albery A. Whitman. *Not a Man and Yet a Man* (Springfield, O.: Republic Printing, 1877), pp. 252-53.

⁶⁴ Walter Malone, *Songs of Dusk and Dawn* (Buffalo: Moulton, 1895), pp. 144-46.

⁶⁵ George P. Emswiler, *Poems and Sketches* (Richmond, Ind.: Nicholson, 1897), pp. 4-7; Miles M. Dawson, *Poems of the New Time* (New York: Alliance, 1901), pp. 69-70.

extreme positions, a middle ground, reflected in the following lines, revealed a notably increased willingness to uphold the cause of organized labor as compared with the days of 1877:

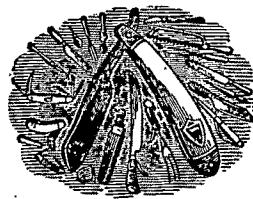
"The Pullman strike, the sympathy attests,
By carping Lords aroused, in workmen's breasts;
Though injudicious, as most men concede;
Yet its inauguration proved the need
Of broader avenues to life's supplies." ⁶⁶

These sentiments in behalf of organized labor combined with those in favor of governmental participation on behalf of the dispossessed to express the poet's program for righting the economic imbalance of his times.

In the poetry which addressed itself to the economic conditions of the late nineteenth century there existed a reasonably complete record of the major events, personalities and movements. More important, the poet, collectively speaking, developed a well-elaborated bill of particulars in support of the Gospel of Wealth, on the one hand, and in support of the sentiment of protest on the other. These two general reactions to America's economic system and status, however, were by no means evenly balanced; both in the consistency of his approach and eloquence, and in the sheer quantity of his dedication, the poet expressed a decided preference amounting to a judgment on the relative values in our economic life. His satisfaction with the status quo was outweighed by his sometimes unfocused but clearly discernible sense of unrest; his defense of the dignity of poverty and labor gave way before his attack on the degradations inseparable from poverty; his paeans to the achievements of industry were grossly tainted by his protests against poor living and working conditions. While with one hand he upheld the captains of industry and their benign stewardship of accumulated wealth, with the other more potent hand he smote the leisure class for its conspicuous consumption and its hypocritical charities. Any overt defense of inequality which sought authority in the writings of Malthus or Darwin he quickly discarded. Against those who argued that prosperity should be equated with strong industrial leadership, he countered that the monopolist and the financier were about to crush forever the competitive system; and he consequently urged the government to take a more active role in guaranteeing economic equity. Although he feared the influence of foreign radical thought on the American system, he nevertheless spoke out with increasing support for organization of the laboring force as a positive method of confronting the abuses apparent in our own regimen.

⁶⁶ J. L. Treuthart, *Milliad. A Poem of Justice and Liberty* (New York: Argyle, 1895), p. 367.

The balance sheet, thus, reflected a heavy debit on the side of those who would let free enterprise run its course unfettered, and a corresponding credit in favor of those who objected to the inequities which this apparently entailed. Obviously, this credit was drawn upon repeatedly in the course of the Progressive Movement, emergent at this time, as it urged the government into a closer regulation of business and a more active protection of the citizen's stake in the economy. The rising stature of organized labor, characteristic of this period and of the years which immediately followed, may also be more readily explained in the light of this published statement. The image of America as the land of the almighty mogul and as the source of economic opportunity for all gave way in the verse of this period to an image dominated by the sense of struggle wherein antagonisms were recognized and inequities freely admitted.



RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON
Northwestern University

Government and the Arts: The W.P.A. Experience

ADEQUATE PATRONAGE FOR THE ARTS HAS BEEN A PERENNIAL PROBLEM OF mankind. Since the dawn-days of history when our primitive ancestors scratched crude drawings on the walls of their caves, some men have been compelled by an irresistible urge to create beauty; during the eons that have since elapsed most of those thus afflicted have experienced difficulty in turning that beauty into bread. Throughout the world today some fifty-eight nations have attempted a partial solution through government patronage, some with propaganda purposes in mind, but most in the sincere belief that the state should satisfy the aesthetic as well as the material wants of its citizens.

That the United States will eventually adopt such a program seems probable. President Dwight D. Eisenhower in his 1955 State of the Union message expressed his belief that "the Federal government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities." His Commission on National Goals, reporting in December, 1960, agreed that "the arts are a vital part of human experience," adding that "in the eyes of posterity, the success of the United States as a civilized society will be largely judged by the creative activities of its citizens in art, architecture, literature, music, and the sciences." President John F. Kennedy was elected that year on a platform that proposed an advisory agency "to assist in the evaluation, development and expansion of cultural resources of the United States," and that promised legislation "to provide incentives for those endowed with extraordinary talent." Before President Kennedy entered office he publicly declared that "the encouragement of art, in the broadest sense, is indeed a function of government." These declarations are all straws in the wind. Should they lead the nation along the path seemingly indicated, what guideposts against disaster are provided by previous governmental forays into the realm of arts patronage?

These began surprisingly early in the history of the United States. With the birth of the new Republic in 1783 the traditional methods of support—by the universal church of the medieval era and by royal or noble patrons in the modern age—were discarded, partly because America boasted no wealthy class that could assume the burdens of patronage, partly because the people were scornful of an old-world system that would make one man (even an artist) another man's economic slave. Instead two new avenues of support were explored, one through governmental aid, the other through devices that would allow the many to assume burdens formerly borne by the few.

Neither proved successful. Government aid began in 1817 when Congress authorized John Trumbull to execute four historic paintings in epic proportions to hang in the rotunda of the newly completed Capitol building. Trumbull earned \$32,000 in commissions, but his canvases aroused so little enthusiasm among Congressmen that subsequent appropriations were few and far between; between 1817 and 1865 only \$200,000 was allotted to artists and sculptors by the federal government, or about \$4,000 yearly. Nor did they succeed better in their own somewhat bizarre efforts to democratize art patronage. Some, such as Charles Willson Peale, opened private museums where their works could be exhibited for a fee; others, such as John Vanderlyn, capitalized on the American tendency to confuse quantity with quality by painting giant "panoramas" that were shown in special buildings; still others found a market for their canvases with the New York Art Union that distributed their creations by lottery until it ran afoul of the New York anti-gambling laws. Yet only the portrait painter could survive in pre-Civil War America, and his patrons were less interested in the arts than in perpetuating their own likenesses for posterity.

With the rise of post-Civil War industrialism the old system of royal patronage returned to the United States as steel barons, coal lords and dukes of beef and wheat assumed responsibility for supporting the arts. Although so culturally insecure that they preferred the worst of the old to the best of the new, they did have well-lined pockets that were emptied to found museums and galleries, finance operas and symphonies and patronize theaters and authors. This form of patronage was welcomed by artists, but it was not without its faults. Patrons whose purchases were dictated by traditional values rather than critical judgment necessarily stifled innovation. Moreover their support tended to concentrate the arts in the nation's money capitals, leaving vast portions of the South and West culturally barren. Even in cities of the Northeast millions of the less-well-to-do were denied contact with beauty, for the most generous private contributions failed to meet production expenses,

forcing symphonies and operas and theaters to charge such high admission prices that only the well-off could attend.

With the economic collapse of the 1930s a worse defect of this system of patronage was revealed. Private philanthropy abruptly halted as wealthy men shifted their dwindling fortunes into more practical uses, and as it did so theaters and operas closed their doors, symphonies gave up the struggle and artists and writers begged for bread on the streets. Overnight the nation was brought face to face with a troublesome question: were the arts simply luxuries that could be lopped off in times of depression? Could a country treat its creative artists as valueless expendables, thus discouraging new recruits from joining their ranks and perhaps creating a cultural vacuum that would last for generations to come? And, if not, how could artists be supported? Among men of reason the answers to the first questions were obvious; among men of good sense that to the last was equally clear. The federal government alone had sufficient resources to revitalize this decaying national asset, and must become a patron of the arts. Was not this a legitimate means of promoting the general welfare, just as surely as granting free seeds to farmers, or free education to children?

This was the reasoning that led Franklin D. Roosevelt to propose and Congress to adopt the measure that created four "Arts Projects" as part of the Works Progress Administration when that relief agency was established in August, 1935. Hiring began at once, and within six months 40,000 persons were employed, some 16,000 of them on the Music Project, 12,500 on the Theater Project, 6,500 on the Writers' Project and 5,000 on the Arts Project Proper. Of these the vast majority were classified as "eligible for employment," a polite means of saying that they were destitute. All were ranked according to skills as "professional workers," "skilled workers" which included research specialists and aspiring artists or writers with little professional experience, and "unskilled workers" consisting of typists, janitors, ushers and clerks. Pay varied both with geographic location and the degree of professional competence, ranging from \$103 to less than \$60 a month. Because trade unions insisted that the hourly rate should not be appreciably lower than in private industry, a work week of twenty-four hours was established, thus assuring artists and writers leisure time for their own creative efforts.

What a tidal wave of culture inundated the United States as these Arts Projects moved into action; never in history have a people been so blessed with opportunities to savor the richer aspects of civilization. One hundred and twenty-two symphony orchestras, scattered through 110 cities, gave 225,000 performances before 150,000,000 people, more

than half of whom had never heard live music before; another 90,000 persons learned to play or sing at the 250 music teaching centers established throughout the land. The 158 theatrical companies of the Theater Project played to more than 25,000,000 people, a majority of whom were experiencing the first taste of drama more exciting than that conveyed by the silver screen. Nearly a million works of art—paintings, statues, mosaics, murals, etchings and all the rest—from the hands of workers on the Art Project Proper were distributed to schools, courthouses, hospitals, libraries and other public buildings, there to acquaint untold millions with the thrills of visual beauty. Each month 60,000 more persons took advantage of the free art classes that were set up wherever demand existed. In remote outposts of the South and West, just as in New York or Boston, those with a craving for aesthetic delights could be satisfied for the first time in history.

Future generations may be less impressed with the democratization and nationalization of the arts that marked the activities of the Arts Projects than with the stimulus that they provided to native cultural expression. The Music Project opened its ranks to hundreds of American-born soloists and composers who might have waited years for the chance to gain a hearing from professional orchestras whose programs were dictated by the traditional tastes of their paying customers; other composers gained years of experience overnight when excellent orchestras employed by the project's Composer Forum-Laboratories allowed them to hear their own works in various stages of composition. The Theater Project, similarly, was free to experiment with the works of native playwrights and to pioneer in the use of unusual dramatic forms. Its "Living Newspapers"—a series of stark, kaleidoscopic scenes that translated social problems into gripping dramas—did much to break the grip of traditionalism on the American stage, while its presentation of Sinclair Lewis' "It Can't Happen Here" (over the protests of nations where it had happened) helped awaken the theater to the stirring themes awaiting dramatization in the modern world. In the same vein, the "Index of American Design" undertaken by the Art Project Proper unleashed nearly one thousand artists in attics, museums and antique shops to fashion faithful reproductions of some 20,000 objects that illustrated the evolution of native arts and crafts, while the Music Project's "Index of American Composers" unearthed more than seventy American symphonies and a dozen operas that were unknown to musicologists. These researchers discovered no forgotten Michelangelo or Brahms, but they did disclose a treasure-trove of folk art and music that quickened the pride of Americans in their culture and lessened

the unreasoned awe with which they had traditionally viewed anything bearing the label "European."

This was also the principal function of the last of the Arts Projects, the Writers' Project. Gathering together some six thousand destitute novelists, poets, journalists, teachers and students of every degree of literary competence, the directors set them to the task of preparing fifty-three guidebooks, one for each state and territory, that would not only enlighten the traveler but reveal to Americans something of the rich variety of their cultural heritage. After a series of false starts, it was decided that basic materials would be gathered by a legion of local workers who would tramp the countryside to unearth hidden records and discover untapped fountains of folklore and history, that this mass of information would be cast into usable form in several district offices located throughout each state, and that the district office manuscripts would be recast into final form at a central state office. Each volume, as it emerged from this last rewriting, would contain a number of essays describing the state's political, economic and cultural development, descriptions of each city and town, and mile-by-mile accounts of scenes along the major highways.

It was at this stage in the Writers' Project history that I was called upon to become part-time director of its activities in Massachusetts, with the understanding that I would spend three days weekly in the Boston office and the remaining three days at my teaching post at Clark University in Worcester. What a roaring maelstrom that was into which I was thrown early in 1936. All reason and order seemed to have fled as writers converted reams of copy paper into the manuscripts that would justify their continued employment, as each day's mail from Washington brought orders that contradicted those of the day before, as district supervisors shouted their opposition to each procedural change and the state director helped keep the telephone company alive by relaying their invective to his superiors in Washington. But gradually order returned as operations were standardized; miraculously essays were written, town descriptions compiled, and tour mileages checked and rechecked until they were amazingly accurate. One by one the guidebooks appeared, each published by a commercial publisher who welcomed the opportunity of adding a perennial sure-seller to his list. With their completion the writers turned to a variety of subsidiary volumes: local guides to cities and regions, schoolbooks that could utilize the wealth of information that had been gathered on local history, studies of racial groups and folklore, and a legion more.

The four Arts Projects added much to America's cultural wealth during their brief careers, but they also provided a convenient case

study of the problems involved in government support for the arts. Did their record justify a program of federally subsidized culture for the United States? Or did their deficiencies indicate that such a development would be undesirable in the foreseeable future?

In seeking an answer to these questions, one thing must be kept constantly in mind: the Arts Projects were designed primarily to provide relief to unemployed artists, and hence differed in purpose and function from a government program intended only to foster culture. As relief agencies they performed their purposes magnificently. Poverty is a heartless taskmaster for all people, but particularly for those intelligent enough to realize that forces beyond their control have denied society the valuable services they are equipped to render. To interview such men and women for employment as I did time and time again, to watch their bleak, downcast eyes, their broken spirit, their air of sullen defiance, was a heart-rending experience. But this was more than offset by the transformation that occurred as their first paychecks brought a modicum of financial security and a wealth of renewed confidence. To watch the physical rehabilitation as new shoes replaced tattered foot-gear or a warm coat was added against Boston's winter blasts was pure joy, but even this was surpassed by the sight of raised heads, squared shoulders, eyes that had lost their look of haunting fear, and smiles that were radiant rather than depreciating. No less thrilling was the change that occurred in the attitude of Negroes or representatives of other minority groups as the realization dawned that they were to be judged on their merits rather than by the color of their skins or the nature of their beliefs, for the WPA projects played an important, if often forgotten, role in the battle against discrimination.

Yet if the Arts Projects are to be judged in their relation to future governmental programs for support of the arts they must be divorced from their relief functions and viewed solely as examples of federally supported culture. In this light their history reveals a variety of weaknesses. These were by no means fatal; proper planning or administration at the time could have eliminated many and minimized others. Awareness of such defects in the WPA program by those shaping any future plan for federal sponsorship may possibly aid them in achieving greater success.

One deficiency, frequently voiced by hostile critics at the time, was the tendency of the Arts Projects to perpetuate mediocrity by coddling persons of limited talents. The projects threatened, *Fortune* magazine declared in 1937, to become "a kind of artistic Old Soldiers' Home for . . . syndicated poets, hack painters, [and] matinee musicians." That there was some truth in these charges there can be no doubt. Among

writers and actors especially, those with the greatest skill constantly found employment in private industry, leaving behind others with fewer talents who were less in demand. This tendency was accentuated by the strong union pressures that helped shape employment practices. Organization began early in the history of the WPA, reaching a climax with the formation of the Workers' Alliance, a powerful union that enlisted the support of nine-tenths of the employees. From the day of its formation any shiftless or mediocre person who was also an Alliance member had only to complain to his local when he was about to be dropped to bring the shop committee into action with mass protests, threats of a strike and slow-down tactics of a sort designed to halt all work on the project. Many an incompetent who deserved to be replaced by a writer or musician or actor of proven worth was kept on the rolls by these methods, just as others remained through the sheer force of inertia while their more talented co-workers disappeared into better-paying jobs with newspapers, advertising agencies, schools or theaters.

Equally unfortunate was the tendency of certain of the projects to stifle the creative genius of many of their employees. This was especially the case with the Writers' Project which was conceived from the beginning, in the words of WPA administrator Harry Hopkins, as "a far-flung effort at cooperative research and writing, drawing upon all the varied abilities of its personnel." That individual talent should be subordinated to cooperative activity was foreordained by both the intellectual atmosphere of the 1930s and by the technical problems involved in compiling the guidebooks. Swept along on the tide of social consciousness that ran so freely during the decade, men in all walks of intellectual life were joyously launching collective enterprises designed to revitalize all learning, as foundations succumbed to the times by adopting the slogan of millions for the group but not one cent for the individual. Nor could the lone writer hope to reduce the mountains of manuscript compiled by field workers and district offices into the pigmy proportions necessary if the final product was to be encased within the covers of one book. The editors of one of the project guides touched on the matter with genuine feeling:

Readers struggled desperately to keep up with incoming copy; typists and copyreaders trod water in pools of manuscript. . . . Out of several millions of words there slowly grew a book—nay, a BOOK, some 650,000 words long. The editors, abandoning a momentarily considered idea of publishing a volume of 2000 pages mounted on wheels with a trailer attachment, sharpened a gross of blue pencils and attacked the typescript to condense it to a portable size. Chapters became pages, pages became paragraphs, paragraphs became sentences.

. . . But out of it all, writers of varied ability and training and of widely differing temperament, thrown together on the common basis of need, shared a new experience—an adventure in co-operation.

This was the manner in which the guidebooks were written. But the question remains: was the spark of genius dimmed by the meddling of too many blue pencils? That it was is demonstrated by two descriptions of adjacent towns in western Massachusetts as they appeared in the Massachusetts guide, that of Amherst written in the usual cooperative fashion, and that of Deerfield from the pen of a single individual. The Amherst account begins as follows:

Amherst, on its pleasant valley plateau within a circle of hills, is a dignified college town, the seat of two institutions of higher learning. Its quiet dwellings, elm-shaded streets, and general air of academic calm make it attractive and individual. It was named for Lord Jeffrey Amherst, a British general in the French and Indian War. The town was originally a part of Hadley. Farming was the exclusive occupation of the community for three quarters of a century. Later its two streams furnished waterpower for a diversity of small and in general ephemeral industries. Shortly after the Revolution, a paper factory made its appearance, followed by three others in the next seventy years. About 1809, an abortive effort was made to spin yarn by machinery. Twenty-eight years later, improved processes made it possible to operate two woolen mills successfully. The fabrication of palmleaf hats and the temporarily popular 'Shaker' hoods for women marked the high-spot of Amherst's mass-production. Miscellaneous items such as sleds, baby-carriages, and rifles complete the catalogue of the town's manufactured goods.

The understandable, but hardly sparkling, style achieved by the blending of talents of the many who contributed to this description stands in marked contrast to the opening paragraphs that describe Deerfield of King Philip's War fame:

It is no exaggeration to say that Deerfield is not so much a town as the ghost of a town, its dimness almost transparent, its quiet almost a cessation, it is essential to add that it is probably quite the most beautiful ghost of its kind, and with the deepest poetic and historic significance to be found in America. Salem, with its somber echoes of the witch-hangings, of the brighter pages of the clipper-ship trade with the East, New Bedford with its whale-ships, Concord with its bold patriotism and its almost unexampled literary flowering—these all perhaps have a greater 'importance.' But Deerfield has something to say which none of these say, and says it perfectly. It is, and will

probably always remain, the perfect and beautiful statement of the tragic and creative moment when one civilization is destroyed by another. And the wonderful ghostliness of this mile-long 'Street' of grave and ancient houses, the strange air of unreality which hangs over it, arises precisely from the fact that the little town is really saying two things at once. It is saying, 'I dared to be beautiful, even in the shadow of the wilderness'; but it is also saying, 'And the wilderness haunts me, the ghosts of a slain race are in my doorways and clapboards, like a kind of death.'

In fairness it should be added that this magnificent passage was written by Conrad Aiken, who followed many of the nation's literary giants onto the project payrolls in that day when poverty was no respecter of genius. Yet the principle remains the same; cooperative writing dims the spark that glows in the words of the true author.

No less fatal, in the history of the Arts Projects, was their failure to achieve a completely harmonious relationship with the government that sponsored them. That this was the case was almost inevitable. Strive as they might to remain separated from the arena of practical politics, the projects were still destined to operate in a political atmosphere. This, in turn, created at least four problems that were never satisfactorily solved.

One was the tendency of critics to judge the products of the projects on political rather than aesthetic grounds. This was particularly noticeable in the record of the Theater Project when performances of superb skill were either ignored by newspapers hostile to the Roosevelt administration, or mercilessly damned without just cause. During its first months, when the American theater was being revitalized on a scale unparalleled in history, not a single important national magazine paid the project the slightest attention save the *Saturday Evening Post* which published two unjustly derogatory articles on its productions. That future government-supported programs could escape such a fate, even though divorced from the relief category, is unlikely, for few Republicans could bring themselves to praise anything associated with a Democratic administration, and vice versa.

Equally unfortunate was the tendency of project supervisors to reach decisions on the basis of political expediency rather than with the good of the program solely in mind. My own presence on the Massachusetts Writers' Project was due to such a situation. When the former director resigned in the spring of 1936 the obvious choice as his successor was Bert J. Loewenberg, one of the two assistant directors, who held a doctoral degree from Harvard and had shown thorough administrative competence. I was selected instead, only because the Washington officials

feared that Loewenberg's appointment would fan flames of anti-Semitism that were already directed against the New Deal, and have some influence on the election of 1936. There was, of course, no sentiment for racial discrimination within the project itself; many of those who made the decision to bypass Loewenberg were themselves Jewish. Yet they acted with votes rather than efficiency in mind.

No less alarming was the tendency of numerous employees of the Arts Projects to use them as propaganda agencies. Again it should be emphasized that officials of the Roosevelt administration were not guilty of such practices; not a single attempt was made to use the projects politically or to interfere in any way with their complete freedom of expression. Nor would such interference be probable in the future so long as the United States does not trade its democratic institutions for those of totalitarianism; a government-supported arts program could almost certainly be free of meddling by congressmen or administrators seeking to inflict their aesthetic views on musicians, writers or artists, forcing them to produce jazz compositions, Zane Grey prose, or candy-box chromos. Instead the Arts Projects demonstrated that the political views of the workers themselves could seldom be separated from their creations, and that these often did the projects much harm.

This was clearly demonstrated by one episode that occurred during the writing of the Massachusetts guide. When a singular stroke of good fortune (for the project, that is) made the services of Conrad Aiken available he was assigned the task of fashioning an essay on the state's literary history from the masses of research notes gathered by workers. The result was a literary gem, so perfect in composition and styling that all concerned agreed not to change a single word. This decision posed a dilemma for the more outspoken Marxists on the project, for Aiken had made individualism his theme—"that profound individualism," as he put it, "which has so deeply marked the American character ever since, and of which Massachusetts—especially in the field of letters—has been the most prodigal and brilliant source." This was heresy to our communist and near-communist friends who held that everything good in America's past had stemmed from collective action. But what to do? Their answer, foisted on the project after weeks of bitter debate, was to insist on a second essay describing the Commonwealth's literary history in terms of group movements. Thus the Massachusetts guide appeared with two essays on literature, with each in effect arguing against the other. The volume was hardly strengthened by this compromise, but given the political divisions existing, no other solution was possible.

Finally, the history of the Arts Projects revealed that even in the socially-conscious decade of the 1930s censorship was a constant threat.

In tribute to the Roosevelt administration and to the Washington officials of the WPA it should be emphasized that they allowed their artists, actors and writers a completely free hand save in one instance: the first "Living Newspaper" proposed by the Theater Project—one entitled "Ethiopia" and strongly antifascist in tone—was banned at the insistence of the State Department on the grounds that it was adversely critical of a foreign power. Yet censorship did hang like a sword of Damocles over all the projects, for neither congressmen nor state officials were imbued with the lofty idealism of those more intimately associated with the administration. Two examples, one on the congressional and the other on the local level, will illustrate the dangers of governmental meddling.

The most flagrant instance of congressional interference involved the Theater Project. Aroused by what conservative congressmen believed to be the Federal Theater's propaganda for the New Deal agricultural program, the Tennessee Valley Authority, public housing and union labor, the House Committee to Investigate Un-American Activity, under the chairmanship of Martin Dies of Texas, launched an investigation in August, 1938. After a parade of hostile witnesses had branded the project's plays as "salacious tripe" and "clear unadulterated propaganda for communism," Hallie Flanagan, the able director, was hurried into the witness box to present the case for the defense. She was never given the opportunity. Instead the committee was only interested in a trip she had made to Russia some years before, and in an article on the New York Workers' Theater that she had published in *Theatre Arts Magazine* seven years earlier. Her questioners seemed particularly aroused over one passage in this article in which she described the Workers' Theater players as having "a certain Marlowesque madness."

"You are quoting from this Marlowe," one investigator observed. "Is he a Communist?"

"I was," answered Mrs. Flanagan, not daring to laugh with the jobs of eight thousand people at stake, "quoting from Christopher Marlowe."

"Tell us who this Marlowe is, so we can get the proper references, because that is all we want to do."

After such an investigation, the committee report was foreordained. On January 3, 1939, it announced its conclusion that "a rather large number of the employees of the Federal Theater Project are either members of the Communist Party, or are sympathetic with the Communist Party." The House of Representatives responded by banning the use of any funds from the 1939 WPA appropriation for the federal theater; when an amendment restoring the needed sum was introduced on the floor it was shouted down after a debate that marked one of the low points in congressional history. Every mention of a play that con-

tained the word "love" in its title was interpreted as salacious; Sheridan's "School for Scandal" and Molière's "School for Wives" were branded as obscene amidst a chorus of howls and catcalls; those who tried to speak for the amendment were drowned out by the "boos" of their enemies. Thus did the Federal Theater die on June 30, 1939, because, in the words of Mrs. Flanagan, "Congress, in spite of protests from many of its members, treated . . . [it] not as a human issue or a cultural issue, but as a political issue."

Examples of real or attempted local censorship were numerous, but none offered a better proof of the dangers of such meddling than the storm created by the publication of the Massachusetts guide. On the day this bulky volume appeared a reporter for the *Boston Traveler*, ordered to extract a news story from its pages, hit upon the device of counting the number of lines devoted to various phases of the state's history. He found that 41 lines in the 675-page book had been allotted to the Sacco-Vanzetti case which was then much on the public conscience of the Commonwealth, while the Boston Tea Party had been treated in nine lines and the Boston Massacre in five. These rather unsensational findings appeared in a modest front-page story on August 18, 1937, under the headline: SACCO, VANZETTI PERMEATE NEW WPA GUIDE.

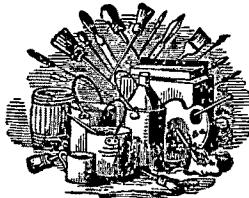
Here was a chance for the hostile press to attack the New Deal. Overnight headlines flamed: GUIDE BOOK SEIZURE URGED ON GOVERNOR, REDS LINKED TO GUIDE BOOK, GUIDE CHANGED BY REDS ON WPA, PURGE OF COMMUNIST WPA WRITERS DEMANDED. Editorial writers rose to the bait. "With the grace of a cow doing a tap dance," one solemnly charged, "they dragged in the notorious Sacco-Vanzetti case, then added a comment that would do justice to the Communist *Daily Worker*. . . . This guidebook is an insult to Massachusetts. Money paid out in taxation has been used to cast scorn on the people who paid it. And what was a sincere effort to assist jobless writers has become in a large sense a harvest of propaganda." Amidst this barrage of invective, the truth assumed forms strange and unrecognizable. Bert J. Loewenberg, assistant director of the project, was Boston born and educated, with a doctoral degree from Harvard University. That summer he had secured his first teaching appointment at the University of South Dakota. This made him, in the eyes of editorial writers, a hostile foreigner. "As director of this guide to Massachusetts," declared one in the columns of the *Boston Globe*, "a resident of South Dakota was imported here despite the wealth of competent Massachusetts historians. . . . It is impossible to escape the conclusion that certain radicals in the WPA, from outside Massachusetts, deliberately plotted to discredit the state."

This newspaper chorus was swelled by the voices of politicians struggling to leap upon the bandwagon. Former Governor Joseph B. Ely, a Democrat, believed that "they ought to take the books to Boston Common, pile them in a heap, set a match and have a bonfire." Senators Joseph Walsh and Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. forgot their political differences as they clamored to have the Guide purged of objectionable passages. Congressmen demanded that the state police seize all copies before its contamination spread. All of this turmoil placed the governor, Charles F. Hurley, a Democrat, in an unenviable position. He had been given proofs of the offending volume, and had even written a brief preface expressing his delight that "this valuable work is being made available to the citizens of Massachusetts and the nation." Moreover, as a Democrat he could hardly condemn the whole WPA concept that was actually under attack. Yet condemn he did, and with a vengeance. In a speech before the New Bedford American Legion he denounced "foreigners" who had "maliciously besmirched the proud record of Massachusetts" and suggested that "if those men don't like Massachusetts and the United States, they can go back where they came from." With this statement on the record, he named the state librarian, Dennis A. Dooley, to read the guide with an eye to offensive passages, at the same time requesting the publishers (whose sales were skyrocketing) to hold up a second printing until these could be deleted.

Fortunately Harry Hopkins and the other WPA administrators treated the whole episode as the teapot tempest that it was, while the publishers went ahead with a second printing, and a third, as the thunders of protest died away. Yet the whole tragicomic sequence made the dangers of censorship startlingly clear. I was privileged to see a copy of the Massachusetts guide that Governor Hurley and Librarian Dooley had marked for deletion. They not only requested the publishers to strike out every mention of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, but all references to strikes, unions, organized labor, welfare legislation, child labor laws and virtually every progressive act in the history of the state. They even proposed dropping Labor Day from the list of official holidays! Such vicious censorship might not be common in the future, but so long as men are governed by passions rather than reason, and so long as partisan politics whip those passions into a frenzy, the danger of governmental interference in any arts program will remain a constant threat.

That such a program is within the realm of possibility, and in the not too distant future, is certain. If current trends in industry continue, technological improvements will release more and more of men's time for leisure pursuits, thus creating a popular demand for cultural opportunities on a wholesale scale. At the same time, private support for the

arts will probably continue to dwindle as taxes drain away surplus wealth. This combination of circumstances will quite probably foster pressures on the government to undertake a cultural program not unlike that of the four Arts Projects, just as in past generations similar pressures forced the use of public funds to provide free education or free reading through libraries. It is to be hoped that when that time comes, those responsible will devise a system of government aid for the arts that will be free of the defects noticeable in the WPA experiment, yet offer the American people a taste of the finer things of civilization that are today denied to them.



M A R C U S C U N L I F F E

University of Manchester

American Watersheds¹

SOME WHILE AGO I BEGAN TO WONDER ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE DIVISIONS that we impose upon the continuum of history. All historians of all countries are forced to make these divisions, as a matter of practical necessity. The bulk of material and the demands of specialized scholarship compel us to define and delimit our own "fields" or "periods." No great uneasiness is involved, for most of us. We turn happily and naturally enough to some particular area—say the fourteenth century, or the eighteenth—and in these instances we do not need to ask ourselves whether the arbitrary division into centuries has more than a provisional validity. Reigns and presidencies, wars and revolutions usually prescribe our boundaries. If they match other, chronological divisions, so much the neater. How convenient that Queen Victoria should have died at almost the exact end of the nineteenth century: though it might have suited the students of Victorianism even better if her death could have coincided with the outbreak of World War I.

Underlying our necessary practice of chopping the continuum into manageable chunks is, of course, a notion that certain dates or episodes are more crucial than others. We assume that this element of decisiveness is real, and not simply a useful fiction, though our terminology to describe such historical moments is neither exact nor very varied. We speak, for example, of "turning points," as though history could be conceived of almost as a force, possessing direction and capable of being deflected from its previous direction by the influence of some major event. Thus in a familiar aphorism G. M. Trevelyan has referred to 1848, the year of revolutions in Europe, as "the turning point at which European history failed to turn." And in his book *Chance or Destiny*,²

¹ A revised and enlarged version of a paper originally read at the joint A.S.A.-A.H.A. meeting during the A.H.A.'s annual convention in Chicago, December, 1959.

² Oscar Handlin, *Chance or Destiny: Turning Points in American History* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1955).

Oscar Handlin analyzes eight "turning points" in American history with reference to the blend in each of accident and predestination. A somewhat different concept, a kind of optical metaphor, is offered by Karl Jaspers. In his *Origin and Aim of History* he postulates an *Axenzeit*, or focal point in time, at which the rays of the historical situation converge and from which they then spread out again.

More commonly we adopt a geographical metaphor and talk of historical "watersheds." According to the *New English Dictionary*, the word in English probably derives from the German *Wasserscheide*, or water-parting. In its original German and English usages it signified "the line separating the waters flowing into different rivers or river basins; a narrow elevated tract of ground between two drainage areas." The "shed" or "parting" came to be known also as the "divide": hence the Continental Divide in North American geography. As a historical metaphor the word represented a dramatic division between two areas of time. Unfortunately, by extension, "watersheds" have also been taken to describe "the whole gathering ground of a river system"—its basin or catchment area or whatever else we like to call it. It is hard therefore to be quite sure what historians have in mind when they allude to a "watershed." Do they envisage a crest separating one age from another? Or are they thinking of some large area which receives and eventually canalizes everything that falls within it? I shall return later to the ambiguities of the metaphor. For the moment, we may perhaps assume that historians use it to denote a dramatic and decisive historical dividing line, metaphorically akin to the geographical Great Divide of North America. If the term is vague it is undeniably valuable, and certainly historians in Europe employ it fairly often.

My concern, however, is with "watersheds" in the American past. Here are a few instances of the word where I happened to come across it in the writings of present-day American scholars. Many others could be cited. The first in a random sample relates to 1789, which is cited as a "watershed year" by Eugene H. Roseboom in his *History of Presidential Elections*.³ Moving on one year, Richard B. Morris believes that Alexander Hamilton's "notable state paper, his Report on Public Credit [1790], constitutes a watershed in American history." It marked, he says, "the end of an era of bankruptcy and repudiation. At the same time it exposed a deepening cleavage between the Hamiltonian nationalists on the one hand and the proponents of states' rights, now championed by Madison."⁴ I find that I myself, in a recent little book in the *Chicago*

³ Eugene H. Roseboom, *A History of Presidential Elections* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1957), p. 1.

⁴ Richard B. Morris (ed.), *The Basic Ideas of Alexander Hamilton* (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1957), p. 232.

History of American Civilization series, rather tentatively proposed the decade of the 1830s as "some sort of watershed in American history."⁵ In another book published during 1959, Avery O. Craven argues (with some mixture of metaphor) that

The years from 1844 to 1850, which ultimately produced the Wilmot Proviso and the Compromise of 1850, form something of a watershed in the history of the democratic process in the United States. Before that period, there had been considerable creaking and jolting, but the undercurrent was strongly national and few seriously entertained the thought of disruption.⁶

After 1850, Mr. Craven contends, the American atmosphere was quite otherwise.

Not surprisingly, the same thing has been said about the Civil War. Thus, to Bruce Catton,

The Civil War was the continental divide of American history, the summit line beyond which everything was to be different. . . . For the Civil War set this nation on the course it has followed ever since. The time before the war is part of the distant past; the time since it is, somehow, the beginning of the present. This was where the great change took place.⁷

Then, among the closing years of the century, the sociologist David Riesman sees the presidential election of 1896 as "an historic watershed: the high point of oligarchic rule."⁸ Henry Steele Commager, in his *The American Mind*, treats the whole decade of the 1890s as "the watershed of American history":

On one side lies an America predominantly agricultural; concerned with domestic problems; conforming, intellectually at least, to the political, economic, and moral principles inherited from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. . . . On the other side lies the modern America, predominantly urban and industrial; inextricably involved in world economy and politics; troubled with the problems that had long been thought peculiar to the Old World; experiencing profound changes in population, social institutions, and technology;

⁵ Marcus Cunliffe, *The Nation Takes Shape, 1789-1837* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 183.

⁶ Avery O. Craven, *Civil War in the Making, 1815-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959), 69-70.

⁷ Bruce Catton, "Where the Great Change Took Place," *New York Times Magazine*, reprinted in *The American Review*, I (Summer, 1961), 5.

⁸ David Riesman et al., *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 236.

and trying to accommodate its traditional institutions and habits of thought to conditions new and in part alien.⁹

Writing of subsequent eras, other historians have had recourse to the same metaphor. Frank Freidel says of the New Deal of the 1930s that it "achieved major shifts in the relationship between government and society which have permanently altered the American way of life. From the perspective of a quarter century and more, it seems one of the great watersheds of American history."¹⁰ Arthur Schlesinger Jr. agrees with Freidel: "The age of Franklin Roosevelt is a watershed in the history of the United States, the great dividing line in the nation's life between innocence and responsibility."¹¹ And the same notion is present in various interpretations which do not actually allude to a "watershed." Henry F. May, in *The End of American Innocence*, says: "Everybody knows that at some point in the twentieth century America went through a cultural revolution. One has only to glance at the family album, or to pick up a book or magazine dated, say, 1907, to find oneself in a completely vanished world." He goes on to speak of a "historical boundary," a "barrier," a "line," and maintains that: "At some point, if not an instantaneous upheaval, there must have been a notable quickening of the pace of change, a period when things began to move so fast that the past, from then on, looked static."¹² For Mr. May the crucial years of this boundary, barrier or line are from 1912 to 1917. Finally Richard

⁹ Henry S. Commager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 41. The same thought is to be found in the editors' introduction (by Henry S. Commager and Richard B. Morris) to George E. Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900-1912* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1958), p. xii: "the real watershed of our history can be located in the decade of the nineties." Consider also these observations from Richard Hofstadter, "Manifest Destiny and the Philippines," in Daniel Aaron (ed.), *America in Crisis* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), pp. 173-74: "The taking of the Philippine Islands from Spain in 1899 marked a major historical departure for the American people. It was a breach in their traditions and a shock to their established values. . . . The acquisition of the islands, therefore, was understood by contemporaries . . . , as it is readily understood today, to be a turning-point in our history. . . . It is often said that the 1890's . . . form some kind of a 'watershed' in American history."

¹⁰ Frank Freidel, "The New Deal," in Richard W. Leopold and Arthur S. Link (eds.), *Problems in American History*, (2d ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1957), p. 626.

¹¹ Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt*, Vol. I: *The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919-1933* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1957), p. ix. See also Vol. III, *The Politics of Upheaval* (1960), p. 385: "The year 1935 marked a watershed. In this year the strategy and tactics of the New Deal experienced a subtle but pervasive change."

¹² Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time, 1912-1917* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), pp. ix, 303. A similar date, though from a quite different viewpoint, is proposed by Maxwell Geismar, *American Moderns* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1958), p. 68: "Although literary history doesn't watch the calendar, the year 1919 was a breaking point in American life. It marked the end of an epoch of social reform which had sprung from the populist and pro-

Hofstadter, though he too has not been obliging enough to use the actual metaphor, discusses great changes in his *The Age of Reform*, and appears to believe that these trends in American experience came to a climax with the beginning of World War II.¹³

What general observations are we to draw from this brief list? We might amuse ourselves by compiling a schedule of, say, the ten chief watersheds in American history. But that would be only a parlor-game, fascinating but ultimately pointless and even misconceived, like the comparable choice made some years ago of the ten greatest presidents of the United States. It would tell us more about ourselves than about the watersheds (or presidents) we happened to select.

Or we might be led to inquire more closely into the whole problem of these allegedly critical episodes in history, following the example set by Oscar Handlin's *Chance or Destiny*. In so doing, we might look more sharply at our professional tendency—a tendency not confined to Americanists—to employ them as the terminal rather than as the central features of our books. If they are so vital, instead of relegating them to rhetorical endpapers ought we not to place them right in the middle of the text, so as to examine what their causes and consequences were? There has been a welcome development here in various American works which do not call an abrupt halt at 1865 and Appomattox, but go on at least as far as 1877 in order to see what happened when the battlesmoke was replaced by the cigar-smoke of lobbies and conference rooms.¹⁴

Or we might ask ourselves whether "watershed" is not a very bad historical metaphor. In its principal usage, does it not—unlike the term "turning point"—imply a too fundamental discontinuity between a remoter and a more recent past? Does it not conjure up a picture of events flowing away in radically opposite directions, or of some crisis-hump isolating the historical cismontane from the historical transmontane?

Clearly that is not the author's intent in some of the instances quoted. Nor, I believe, is it the intent of most European historians when they find themselves reaching out for this handy cliché, although their own national histories have not been lacking in dramatic and even catastrophic changes of direction. But I believe that it is the intention of some Americans. When they speak of a watershed or great divide this is what

gressive movement at the turn of the century. It opened a decade of social anarchy under the mask of "normalcy"—of pleasure seeking and private gain, of material success and trivial moral values."

¹³ Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), p. 326.

¹⁴ For example, the two-volume text by T. Harry Williams, Richard N. Current and Frank Freidel, *A History of the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959).

they mean to mean. The assertion is not true, I would suppose, of Mr. Morris' reference to Hamilton's report of 1790. I think he merely wishes to indicate that the report was a remarkable document which had important consequences. I know that when I spoke of the 1830s as a "watershed" I was only trying to indicate a transitional period in American history (and, incidentally, to discover a satisfactory way of concluding my book: the rhetorical endpaper fashion once again).

In the example from Avery Craven the matter is in doubt. He says only that the 1840s were "something of a watershed." Yet in his book he argues that a profound change took place during those years. The "Modern Era" was born and America was never the same again. Bruce Catton is certain of the importance of *his* watershed; and with Henry S. Commager we are, equally, left in no doubt. For him the 1890s form not *a* watershed but "*the* watershed" of American history,¹⁵ and he is at pains to develop the idea of a Great Divide. "On one side" lies the old America: "On the other side lies the modern America." Arthur Schlesinger Jr. is equally firm in his conviction that the age of Franklin Roosevelt is "*the* great dividing line¹⁵ in the nation's life." For Henry F. May, whose subtitle is *The First Years of Our Own Time*, "our time" is separated by the years 1912-17 from "a completely vanished world." Richard Hofstadter is no less positive in his comments on the later 1930s:

The beginning of the war meant that Americans, with terrible finality, had been at last torn from that habitual security in which their domestic life was merely interrupted by crises in the foreign world; and thrust into a situation in which their domestic life is largely determined by the demands of foreign policy and national defense. With this change came the final involvement of the nation in all the realities it had sought to avoid, for now it was not only mechanized and urbanized and bureaucratized but internationalized as well.¹⁶

Of course we could make something of the fact that each of these four historians, from Commager to Hofstadter, recommends a different date for the Great Divide. In a strict sense they cannot all be correct, though one of them might be. But I fancy that none would quarrel ferociously with the others over their preferences; and in any case, much of the material in Hofstadter's book deals with the upheavals described by the others. In other words, all of them deal with the twentieth century (if we may stretch our century back as far as 1890), and all insist that fundamental changes separate it and us from the nineteenth century. This is a widely held view, supported by much evidence, including

¹⁵ My italics.

¹⁶ Hofstadter, p. 326.

a number of studies of changes in the American character during the past half-century.¹⁷

There is no need to recount all this evidence, some of whose main features are summarized in the quotation from Hofstadter. One can indeed construct a strong case for the argument that American life began to alter profoundly toward the end of the nineteenth century, and that the novelty and collective weight of such change had a more startling effect in the United States than did comparable movements in European life, at the same period. Oscar Handlin has suggested that the very notion of the "watershed" (though he does not call it that) dates from this period. Immigration and industrialization combined, he maintains, with a loss of belief in progress and in the American historic mission to introduce a new pessimism into American thought—especially the thought of those Americans of older stock who now felt dispossessed. So they took refuge in nostalgia, in the half-comforting, half-dismaying idea that *their* America had disappeared at some definite moment which Handlin labels the "cut-off point":

The depressions of 1893 and 1907 had each evoked widespread fears that all American history to that point had come to an end, and that a new era was about to begin. Strikes . . . produced similar predictions. Through much of the thinking about the end of the frontier and through much of the argument about conservation ran the same frightening thoughts. Sometimes . . . these speculations located the cut-off point in the future rather than in the past or present. . . . Stories about the ruin of old civilizations or about the forthcoming end of the world appeared frequently in the popular magazines and on the shelves of the booksellers. . . . [T]heir central incident was a cataclysm, a violent terminus to the peaceful historical process.¹⁸

Looking backward, Handlin says, Americans of this period fastened upon a variety of "cut-off points." For some it was the Civil War. Henry

¹⁷ Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd* has as its subtitle *A Study of the Changing American Character*. William H. Whyte, *The Organization Man* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1956), discusses the shift from an "individuated-entrepreneurial" to a "welfare-bureaucratic" society. This formulation is made to serve in works such as Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, *The Changing American Parent* (New York: John Wiley, 1959).

¹⁸ Handlin, *Chance or Destiny*, p. 206. The shock of mass immigration is stressed in Nathan Glazer, "The Immigrant Groups and American Culture," *Yale Review*, XLVIII (Spring, 1959). Glazer contends (p. 392) that "while the relatively homogeneous American culture of the middle of the nineteenth century was, like all the other national cultures of that period, seriously affected by the rise of modern industry, . . . mass immigration added something additional to the destructive impact. . . . The break between the culture of the 1870's and that of the 1920's was thus greater in the United States than it was in England or France."

Adams, for whom catastrophe was a hobby, picked out the thirteenth century, or, within his own lifetime, picked out 1844 (as Avery Craven has done more recently). Writing retrospectively, in the early twentieth century, Adams asserts that in that year 1844

the old universe was thrown into the ash-heap and a new one created. He and his eighteenth century, troglodytic Boston were suddenly cut apart—separated forever—in act if not in sentiment, by the opening of the Boston and Albany Railroad; the appearance of the first Cunard steamers in the bay; and the telegraphic messages which carried from Baltimore to Washington the news that Henry Clay and James K. Polk were nominated for the Presidency. This was in May, 1844; he was six years old; his new world was ready for use, and only fragments of the old met his eyes.¹⁹

Adams's friend, the Bostonian Henry Cabot Lodge, indulged in similar speculations when he came to write his autobiography. Lodge was born in 1850, twelve years after Adams:

The fact was that the year 1850 stood on the edge of a new time. . . . I have often said . . . that there was a wider difference between the men who fought at Waterloo and those who fought at Gettysburg or Sedan or Mukden than there was between the followers of Leonidas and the soldiers of Napoleon. This is merely one way of stating that the application of steam and electricity to transportation and communication made a greater change in human environment than had occurred since the earliest period of recorded history. The break between the old and the new came some time in the thirties, and 1850 was well within the new period. Yet at that date this new period was still very new, . . . and the ideas of the earlier time . . . were still felt, still dominant. The men and women of the elder time with the old feelings and habits were, of course, very numerous, and for the most part were quite unconscious that their world was slipping away from them. Hence the atmosphere of our old stone house, with its lane, its pear-trees, and its garden-nymph, indeed of Boston itself, was still an eighteenth-century atmosphere, if we accept Sir Walter Besant's statement that the eighteenth century ended in 1837.²⁰

If America began to change so drastically in the 1890s, and if Americans like Adams and Lodge began to project their dismay both backward and forward in time, and if the pace of change has continued to accelerate ever since, then perhaps there is not much left to say. "Watershed" may

¹⁹ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918), p. 5.

²⁰ Henry Cabot Lodge, *Early Memories* (New York: Scribner's, 1913), p. 16.

be a bad metaphor. But then all metaphors are inexact; and since they are indispensable to historians as well as dangerous, why not choose an abrupt metaphor to signalize abrupt change?

I think there *is* something left to say. To begin with, we must recall that not all present-day American historians seem willing to locate the watershed in or after the 1890s—and “in or after the 1890s” itself covers a fairly long stretch in American history, perhaps too long to be properly considered as one era. Some writers, such as Avery Craven and Bruce Catton, would apparently push the date back considerably earlier than the 1890s. Allan Nevins, for instance, reinforces Bruce Catton:

The old Pilgrim chronicler Nathaniel Morton, relating how the founders of Plymouth had taken leave of Europe, committed themselves to a fateful experiment, and by hard labor triumphed over their first trials, concluded that from their last estate they were forever parted: “If they looked behind them, there was a mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main bar or gulph to separate them.” When Americans in 1863 looked back a short three years, they saw that they were separated from their former world by a stormy ocean, and that an impassable chasm shut them off from their earlier history.²¹

Possibly we may concede that there may have been not one but several fundamental changes in the history of the United States. But if so, this is an important concession. It suggests that we ought not to enter such ambitious claims for the “watershed” quality of any one particular period or episode. If there have been several breaks, we may wonder whether any one of them imposed as dramatic a discontinuity as its historians would maintain.

Again, we may wonder whether Oscar Handlin’s comments on the 1890s, illuminating though they are, explain the whole story. It is surely significant that observers like Adams and Lodge, conscious of and disturbed by the movements of their own middle years, nevertheless went back a half-century before the 1890s to find the source of the upheaval. Nor was there any novelty in this sort of puzzled backward glance. Nathaniel Morton used the ocean metaphor because it had a literal application; yet it is equivalent to a “watershed” metaphor. Before long the “jeremiads” or admonitory sermons of colonial New England, with a different emphasis, were in effect depicting some watershed or cut-off point—some cleavage, that is, between an early American innocence

²¹ Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, Vol. II: *War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863* (New York: Scribner's, 1960), p. 482.

and a latter-day depravity.²² There is an interesting anguish of exaggeration, which goes beyond mere political partisanship, in the indictment of Thomas Jefferson's policies by a pamphleteer of 1808:

Everybody will recollect, for it is but a few years since (so rapid has been our progress from infancy to decay) when this country stood on a proud eminence. Its dawn of existence was like that of Hercules, and its maturity promised to be like his. But the *poisoned garment*, was thrown over her at an early age, and her premature strength has been followed by a premature old age and second childhood.²³

This is typical of a whole mass of assertions, throughout American history, that a wondrous opportunity has been ruined, that a golden age has been tarnished, that the old ways have disappeared or that they offer no useful guide to a newer generation. It is of course not a continuous, undifferentiated cry of woe but an ambiguous affair, half-lament, half-boast, as Martin Chuzzlewit might have discerned:

"You have come to visit our country, Sir, at a season of great commercial depression," said the major.

"At an alarming crisis," said the colonel.

"At a period of unprecedented stagnation," said Mr. Jefferson Brick.

"I'm sorry to hear that," returned Martin. "It's not likely to last, I hope?"

Martin knew nothing about America, or he would have known perfectly well that if its individual citizens, to a man, are to be believed, it always *is* depressed, and always *is* stagnated, and always *is* at an alarming crisis, and never was otherwise; though as a body they are ready to make oath upon the Evangelists at any hour of the day or night, that it is the most thriving and prosperous of all countries on the habitable globe.²⁴

In other words, there is an almost inherent American tendency to believe that one has been cut off decisively from the past as if by a physical barrier. The tendency has three main elements. First, it is a consequence of the undeniable fact of continuous and rapid social change, since the origins of settlement. This process has, understandably, revealed itself in regrets and neuroses as well as in pride and exuberance. Second, the tendency is rooted in the constant American determination

²² See Perry Miller, *The New England Mind from Colony to Province* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), esp. pp. 27-39.

²³ John T. Danvers, *A Picture of a Republican Magistrate of the New School, Being a Full Length Likeness of His Excellency Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States* (New York, 1808), p. 56.

²⁴ Charles Dickens, *Martin Chuzzlewit* (London: Macmillan, 1954), p. 259.

to repudiate Europe—Europe equated with the Past, in contrast with America as the Future—and so to lose the Past altogether. Third, the tendency is a consequence of the American sense of a society which is uniquely free to choose its own destiny. This sense of mission, of dedication and of infinite possibility, in part a fact and in part an article of faith, has led to acute if temporary despairs, to suspicions of betrayal and the like, as well as to more positive and flamboyant results.

It may be objected that the wistful vision of a golden age is by no means an American monopoly. Eden and Arcadia were ancient inventions. Nearly six hundred years ago, in his poem *The Former Age*, Chaucer sighed for the dear dead days before mankind began to worry and scheme and amass wealth:

A blisful lyf, a paisible and a swete
Ledden the peples in the former age.

And in *Gulliver's Travels*, Dean Swift harks back to a vanished England of sturdy yeomen: an England which has given way to the evils of sophistication. Nostalgia—a mild emotional indigestion which comes from the attempt to eat one's cake and have it too—was as noticeable in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe as in America. Someone has remarked that Englishmen in the Railway Era became fond of novels in which the fastest form of transport is a stagecoach. And the disquiet which Oscar Handlin notes in the America of the 1890s had very similar manifestations in contemporary England: a yearning for the romantic past on the one hand, and on the other an outcrop of novels about a future war, with pessimistic titles such as *When All Men Starve*.²⁵ Here too, continuous and rapid social change, though less evident than in the United States, encouraged an interest in watersheds.

But the American repudiation of Europe and the American sense of mission helped to differentiate the American versions of watersheds and golden ages from those of Europe. For instance, the American golden age is not distant in time or place. It is tantalizingly near at hand. The pamphleteer of 1808 could feel that he had either just been in it, or that—if only the Republicans could be swept from office—it might yet be created in the immediate future. There might still prove to be an antidote for the poisoned garment. Later generations of his countrymen could react similarly. All these elements account for an apparent paradox: that American history, though in actuality it has had a surprising degree of continuity when compared with most European nations, has nonetheless been accompanied by a surprisingly prevalent American

²⁵ Charles Gleig, *When All Men Starve* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1898). I am preparing a study of these accounts of imaginary wars.

belief in national discontinuity; whereas these European nations have been able to combine actual discontinuity—revolutions, new constitutions, broken regimes, renamed streets and squares—with a *belief in their own national continuity*. True, they have sometimes accomplished this by performing a sort of national amnesia—like the Germans in relation to their Nazi interlude. But this is a different matter from the American feeling of isolation from the past.

If these opinions of mine are valid, then it can be argued that American historians (and sociologists) along with the rest of their countrymen tend to exaggerate the cataclysmic nature of the crises in American history. Obviously, their motives vary. One understandable, and laudable, temptation is for the historian to portray his own subject as dramatically as possible. So a crisis or controversy becomes by degrees *the crisis, the controversy, the watershed* in American history. The temptation is all the greater when the protagonists of whom the historian writes are themselves convinced that they are involved in an unprecedented and tremendous drama: the drama of choices that is a genuine and enormously interesting feature of American history. There is, too, the undeniable fact of fantastic change in both the internal and external aspects of America. The historian may naturally enough be led to contend that change is American history, just as the sociologist may be led to conclude that nothing has remained the same. I suspect that no other nation has produced so many books about itself with the word *New* somewhere in the title; and with good reason. But not with entire justification. Much alters: some things do remain the same, or transform themselves quite slowly.²⁶

It should be said that recent historians like Arthur Schlesinger, Henry May and Richard Hofstadter are not talking in simple terms of a lost golden age, of a past regrettably shut off. For them "the end of innocence" is the beginning not of *depravity* but of *responsibility*. Schlesinger speaks of the age of Franklin Roosevelt as "the great dividing line . . . between innocence and responsibility." Hofstadter deals brilliantly in *The Age of Reform* with this very fallacy of a pristine, bygone America:

we may well sympathize with the Populists and with those who shared their need to believe that somewhere in the American past there was a golden age whose life was far better than our own. But actually to

²⁶ See for example Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 306-13, which suggests that some of the problems of urbanization that we tend to regard as recent were already troubling cities like Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and St. Louis more than a century ago. The sprawl of suburbs, the loss of the sense of community, the growth of summer and weekend retreats: these are apparently ancient aspects of American life.

live in that world, actually to enjoy its cherished promise and its imagined innocence, is no longer within our power.²⁷

These are sophisticated historians. Even so, they may be yielding a little too readily to the old American habit of asserting that yesterday is shut off from today.

But if change is not quite the whole of American history, the problem of measuring and interpreting it is a major task for historians of America. To use clumsy metaphors of watersheds and turning-points is to miss out a great deal. If we must use analogies, they should be more precise—like, for example, the axiom in the physical sciences that quantitative change produces qualitative change, by degrees: the steady addition of one calorie at a time to a liquid will eventually turn it into a gas. Another way of putting this is to say that change is a constant feature of Western society generally, and of American society in particular. The change generates all kinds of responses: nostalgia, alarm, pride and so on. The nostalgia and alarm are possibly greater today than ever before in American history. But they are not entirely novel. The historian can best show that he understands American attitudes, instead of merely typifying them, by analyzing some of the many aspects of changes in the nation's evolution. Indeed, some of the best recent work in American history has been along such lines. Richard Hofstadter's idea of the "status revolution," and its effect upon respectable citizens at the end of the nineteenth century, is one instance.²⁸ A similar thesis has been employed by David Donald to explain the motives of the generation of abolitionists that came to maturity during the 1830s:

Social and economic leadership was being transferred from the country to the city, from the farmer to the manufacturer, from the preacher to the corporation attorney. Too distinguished a family, too gentle an education, too nice a morality were handicaps in a bustling world of business. They were an elite without function, a displaced class in American society.²⁹

This explanation has been criticized; and indeed it does not seem to fit the 1830s as convincingly as the 1890s. There is clearly a danger that such theses may be rashly applied, once they are in fashion. "Status

²⁷ Hofstadter, p. 326. And see Robert Allen Skotheim, "'Innocence' and 'Beyond Innocence' in Recent American Scholarship," *American Quarterly*, XIII (Spring, 1961), 93-99.

²⁸ Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, chap. iv: "The Status Revolution and Progressive Leaders."

²⁹ David Donald, "Toward a Reconsideration of Abolitionists," in *Lincoln Reconsidered* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), pp. 33-34.

"revolutions" may need to be rationed as carefully as "watersheds": otherwise they may form a continuous procession in American history. Yet would that not in a way be a correct statement of American social evolution? To explore the shifting balances of American society, and the stratagems of which those who feel dispossessed avail themselves, is to discover a whole field of historical interpretation.

Henry Nash Smith, Marvin Meyers, John W. Ward and other scholars have, by related but somewhat different routes, provided us with remarkably valuable ways of reinterpreting American experience.³⁰ Older interpretations tended to be organized round certain large polarities: America *versus* Europe, West *versus* East, industrialism *versus* agrarianism and so on. Recent scholarship admits the existence of these polarities and may even suggest as Leo Marx does, that "the dialectical tendency of mind—the habit of seeing life as a collision of radically opposed forces and values—has been accentuated by certain special conditions of experience in America."³¹ But Smith, Marx and the rest do not visualize these collisions primarily between opposed groups of men, but rather as contradictory ideals and desires, held simultaneously and uneasily within the mind of the single individual. Very broadly, these opposed aspirations represent the tug between past and future: between primitivism and progress, wilderness and settlement, simplicity and multiplicity, "Arcadia" and "Enterprise."³² To assume that the polarity is so to speak *internalized*, a dilemma in the individual minds of men as diverse as Andrew Jackson and Henry Adams, is to see American history in a new light. It is to understand more clearly what Longfellow may have been thinking about, in this final example, which nicely illustrates both the idea of the watershed, and the American uncertainty as to which side one would prefer to inhabit. Longfellow's poem, "The Two Rivers," begins:

³⁰ See for example, Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950); Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957); John W. Ward, *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955).

³¹ Leo Marx, "Two Kingdoms of Force," *The Massachusetts Review*, I (October, 1959), 84. Marx maintains that "the contrast between the two cardinal images of value, the machine and the native landscape," dramatizes "the great issue of our culture."

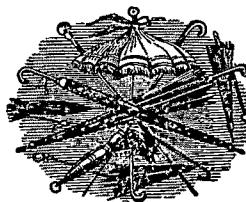
³² The "Arcadia-Enterprise" ambivalence of some Jacksonians—for instance—is made explicit in William N. Chambers, *Old Bullion Benton* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1956), and in Charles G. Sellers Jr., *James K. Polk, Jacksonian, 1795-1843* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957). It is studied, for a later period, in David W. Noble, *The Paradox of Progressive Thought* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958). And see Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1955).

Midnight! the outpost of advancing day!
The frontier town and citadel of night!
The watershed of Time, from which the streams
Of Yesterday and To-morrow take their way,
One to the land of promise and of light,
One to the land of darkness and of dreams!

The final stanza declares:

It is the mystery of the unknown
That fascinates us; we are children still,
Wayward and wistful; with one hand we cling
To the familiar things we call our own,
And with the other, resolute of will,
Grope in the dark for what the day will bring.³³

³³ Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Poetical Works* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1886), III, 213-15.



ROBERT L. GALE
University of Pittsburgh

Roderick Hudson and Thomas Crawford

WHEN HENRY JAMES VISITED ROME IN THE FALL OF 1869 AND MORE PARTICULARLY WHEN HE LIVED THERE FOR MANY MONTHS IN 1873 AND 1874, HE ABUNDANTLY OBSERVED THE EXTENT AND ENERGY OF THE AMERICAN ARTIST-COLONY IN THE ETERNAL CITY AND THUS HELPED TO PREPARE HIMSELF TO WRITE *Roderick Hudson*, FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1875. IN 1873 JAMES ROOMED AT NO. 101 CORSO,¹ IN THE VIVIDNESS OF WHICH COLORFUL AVENUE NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE HAD TAKEN SUCH DELIGHT FIFTEEN YEARS BEFORE; FROM THAT RESIDENCE JAMES COULD EASILY STRIKE OUT ON VISITS TO VARIOUS STUDIOS, AS DID RODERICK HUDSON'S PATRON ROWLAND MALLET, WHOSE ROMAN RESIDENCE WAS A CORNER IN A PALAZZO NEAR THE TREVI FOUNTAIN (78). JAMES, FOR EXAMPLE, COULD WALK FROM HIS APARTMENT ON THE CORSO TO THE VIA MARGUTTA STUDIOS OF SEVERAL AMERICAN SCULPTORS AND PAINTERS² IN A MATTER OF MINUTES. IT WOULD TAKE MALLET A LITTLE LONGER TO GO FROM HIS APARTMENT TO HIS FRIEND HUDSON'S STUDIO ON VIA RIPETTA (77, 149), BUT SUCH A WALK WOULD STILL OCCUPY ONLY A SHORT WHILE.

To step from James's Roman quarters at this time to the Palazzo Odescalchi, also on the Corso, would require only a few minutes; and James probably found it worth his while to do so often, for at the Odescalchi were Luther Terry, a competent but not dazzling American painter, and his charming wife Louisa. Mrs. Terry, then fifty years of age, had been Miss Louisa Ward, one of "the Three Graces of Bond Street," along with her sisters Julia Ward, later the redoubtable Mrs. Howe,³ and Annie Ward, later the wife of Adolph Mailliard, a grand-

¹ Leon Edel, "Introduction" to *Roderick Hudson* by Henry James (New York: Harper & Bros., 1960), p. x. All parenthetical page references to *Roderick Hudson* are to this edition.

² *Idem*.

³ Late in his career, James used Julia Ward Howe as the model for the picturesquely ugly central character in his fine story "The Beldonald Holbein," 1901; *The Notebooks of Henry James*, eds. F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth B. Murdock (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 290-91.

son of Joseph Bonaparte. In 1844, Louisa Ward had married Thomas Crawford, the first American sculptor to go to Rome to study and remain there.⁴ Louisa had been deliriously happy in Italy until the death of her first husband, at the age of forty-four, in 1857. Some four years later she had married the painter Luther Terry.

James might conceivably have studied the unassuming Terry as one model for his dogged little Sam Singleton in *Roderick Hudson*; but it is my contention that he certainly used aspects of the life and personality of Thomas Crawford when he came to shape his picture of Roderick Hudson. He must have talked about Crawford with Louisa; perhaps he looked over some of the dead sculptor's notes, books of sketches, clay models, and even letters, all of which his wife treasured over the years; and he assuredly considered the man's meteoric and tragically short career.

I am not suggesting that *Roderick Hudson* is a character sketch of Thomas Crawford. Nor am I forgetting the startling parallels between James's novel and *L'Affaire Clémenceau: Un Mémoire d'Accusé* by Alexandre Dumas fils, 1866.⁵ In addition, I am aware that *Roderick Hudson* is properly interpreted as partly autobiographical. Finally, I make allowance for the wonderfully inventive faculty of James, who moreover knew sculptors contemporary to and surviving Crawford in Rome, including William Wetmore Story, whose biography James wrote in 1903.⁶ Nonetheless, there exist, I believe, enough resemblances to warrant the suggestion that Crawford and his work were vividly present to James while he planned and wrote *Roderick Hudson*.

Hudson's pre-Roman life was somewhat similar to Crawford's. Born in Virginia, Hudson has moved to New England, where he becomes his mother's only source of comfort after the death of a brother in the Civil War; he seems headed for a career in a law office until he is rescued by a patron. Somewhat similarly, Crawford, born probably in New York City,⁷ had Irish-born parents, against whose commercial ambitions for him he successfully rebelled.⁸ There had been four Craw-

⁴ Albert TenEyck Gardner, *Yankee Stonecutters: The First American School of Sculpture, 1800-1850* (New York: Published for The Metropolitan Museum of Art by Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 26.

⁵ See Viola Dunbar's fine study of the similarities between the two novels—"A Source for *Roderick Hudson*," *Modern Language Notes*, LXIII (May, 1948), 303-10.

⁶ James nostalgically recalls Villa Negroni, the residence of the Crawfords in the 1850s, in his *William Wetmore Story and His Friends: From Letters, Diaries, and Recollections* (2 vols.; Boston, 1903), I, 122.

⁷ His daughter, Mary Crawford Fraser, in her *A Diplomatist's Wife in Many Lands*, (2 vols.; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1910), I, 1, says that Crawford was born in New England; but she is probably in error.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 2; Louise Hall Tharp, *Three Saints and a Sinner: Julia Ward Howe, Louisa, Annie and Sam Ward* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1956), p. 110.

ford children, but only Thomas and his sister Jenny survived to maturity.⁹ Robert Launitz, of the stonecutting firm of Frazee and Launitz in New York, encouraged young Crawford, then an apprentice for that company, to go to Rome. Leaving his parents and devoted sister, he sailed for Italy in 1835; three years later the death of his father¹⁰ made the smaller circle of anxious loved ones back home resemble even more that of Roderick Hudson. It will be recalled that old Mrs. Hudson is comforted by her young cousin Mary Garland, who comes to live with her after her son Roderick starts his Roman career.

In both cases, the sculptors left behind them at home only incomplete evidence of their promise. Hudson's bronze statue of "Thirst"¹¹ catches the eye of Mallet, who soon thereafter sees a few other untutored works by the young fellow, only "three or four and twenty" years of age at the time (31). His annoyed lawyer-supervisor Mr. Striker speaks at one point of Hudson's accomplishments in art as merely "of the light ornamental" (53). Similarly, when Crawford at the age of twenty-two left for Rome he had done only a few busts in addition to ornamental mantelpieces.¹²

Once in Rome, Hudson follows a professional course much like Crawford's. He establishes himself in modest quarters on Via Ripetta, begins to study antique sculpture at the Vatican and Capitoline Museums, makes through Mallet's kindness the acquaintance of an assortment of art folk—including the perceptive Gloriani—and gets down to work. Without help, Crawford did the same but worked much harder. His first studio was only a corner of the animal painter Velatti's professional quarters on Via Margutta,¹³ three blocks from the beginning of Via Ripetta; later he had a modest studio nearby at Via del Orto di Napoli.¹⁴ He began to model under Bertel Thorwaldsen (who was no Gloriani, it must be admitted), to sketch nudes in the French Academy, and to study antique statues in the Vatican; soon he was an established member of

⁹ George S. Hillard, "Thomas Crawford: A Eulogy," *Atlantic Monthly*, XXIV (July, 1869), 40.

¹⁰ *Idem*.

¹¹ Hudson's statue "Thirst" was cast at Chicopee (31), where Crawford's bronze doors for the Senate portico in the Capitol at Washington were cast in 1868; Charles E. Fairman, *Art and Artists of the Capitol of the United States of America*, 69th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document Number 95 (Washington, D. C., 1927), pp. 477-78. See also William Sener Rusk, *William Henry Rinehart: Sculptor* (Baltimore: Norman T. A. Munder, Publisher, 1939), pp. 70-71; Rinehart completed Crawford's models for the doors beginning in 1861.

¹² Thomas Hicks, *Eulogy on Thomas Crawford* (New York, 1865), pp. 13-15; Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences: 1819-1899* (Boston and New York, 1899), p. 45.

¹³ Hicks, p. 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

a little artist-circle in Rome.¹⁵ He worked both faster and more regularly than Hudson; in fact, one difference between the two is that Crawford often continued his work far into the night, whereas Hudson never did.¹⁶ Also, Crawford had no patron at first, as Hudson did in Mallet; so he had to eke out his subsistence by hack work in busts and copies of famous statues. One such statue Crawford put into marble was the very Vatican "Demosthenes"¹⁷ which Mallet shows with such pleasure to Mary Garland and which James improves the moment by calling "that noblest of sculptured portraits" (225). Crawford later was fortunate enough to have a patron-like friend in Charles Sumner, who was almost as loyal to him as Mallet is to Hudson. In 1839 Sumner, while traveling and studying in Italy, met Crawford in Rome and was so smitten by the neoclassical charms of his clay "Orpheus" that upon returning to Boston he obtained a commission for it to be put into marble for the Athenaeum.¹⁸

Once launched, Crawford soon had a professional reputation among his friends in Rome and elsewhere similar to Hudson's: Margaret Fuller praised him; his old friend, George S. Hillard, returning from six months in Italy, placed him "at the head of all his professional brethren in Rome"; Longfellow called him "a true man of genius"¹⁹; etc. Many of Hudson's associates deplore certain aspects of his personality, but they probably would all concur in little Sam Singleton's comprehensive statement: "He was the most beautiful of men!" (332). When fame came to Crawford, he moved his studios first to Piazza Barberini, then to the Corso and finally to Villa Negroni.²⁰ Hudson also soon moves on to a better studio—on the Corso (149).

A list of Hudson's finished or projected works would run remarkably

¹⁵ George Washington Greene, *Biographical Studies* (New York, 1860), pp. 130-36.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-28; Hicks, pp. 19-20; Fraser, I, 6; Tharp, pp. 118-19. See also letter from Thomas Crawford to Charles Sumner, Boston, Tuesday (September 17, 1844?), Sumner Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University. On the other hand, "'He never works in the evening,' said Mrs. Hudson" (254) of her son.

¹⁷ Hicks, p. 20.

¹⁸ For a brief, recent treatment of Sumner's friendship with Crawford, see David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), pp. 67, 80-81.

¹⁹ Mason Wade, *Margaret Fuller: Whetstone of Genius* (New York: Viking Press, 1940), p. 211; George Stillman Hillard, *Six Months in Italy* (Boston, 1853), p. 439; *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: With Extracts from His Journals and Correspondence*, ed. Samuel Longfellow (3 vols.; Boston and New York, 1891), I, 392.

²⁰ Hicks, pp. 27, 30; letter from Lutie (Louisa Ward Crawford) to John Ward (her uncle), Rome, January 20, 1847, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island. For a charming, recently composed description of Villa Negroni, which was long ago demolished to make way for the huge railroad station of Rome, see Van Wyck Brooks, *The Dream of Arcadia: American Artists and Writers in Italy, 1760-1915* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1958), pp. 89-90.

parallel to a catalogue of Crawford's accomplishments. Taking them in the order of their first—and often last—mention, Hudson's statues, executed or merely spoken of, include the following: "Adam," "Eve," "David," "Christ," a colossal "America," Christina Light's bust, a "Daughter of Herodias" and an allegorical representation of "Intellectual Refinement"; further, Mr. Leavenworth, Hudson's pompous patron, mistakes the bust of Miss Light for a "Diana, a Flora" (198). Now, the following is a deliberately selective list of Crawford's innumerable finished works: "Adam and Eve," "David," "Christ," the colossal Washington equestrian group (at Richmond, Virginia) and the colossal female "Freedom" (on the Capitol dome in Washington, D. C.), a bust of his beautiful wife Louisa, a "Daughter of Herodias," allegorical figures of "Law" and "Justice" among other abstractions, "Diana" and "Flora."²¹ Obviously, our two sculptors unfortunately did not have a monopoly in the mid-nineteenth century on such subjects as are listed above, but there are certainly more parallels between the works of Hudson and Crawford than between those of Hudson and, say, Horatio Greenough, Hiram Powers, W. W. Story, Harriet Hosmer, S. V. Clevenger, Joel T. Hart, Joseph Mozier or H. K. Brown, among others.

It is likely that James if looking for hints would have cribbed from the romantic life of the dead Crawford rather than from careers of American sculptors still practicing in Rome, many of whom, in fact, had known Crawford and might have been happy to talk with James about their picturesque colleague. Anecdotes about him must have been numerous in Italy beyond the time of James's first visits. Of all the *scultore americani*, Crawford was the most romantic and dashing, and there are many similarities between his personality and Hudson's. For example, James—in keeping with what became a lifelong tendency, to be sure—stresses from one end of his novel to the other the beauty and power of his central character's eyes.²² When Rowland first meets the dynamic young man he notes his "generous dark grey eye" (34); Christina Light says of his "*beaux yeux*" (127), "They're the finest . . . I ever saw" (146); and our final picture of the dead Roderick, staring "open-eyed at the sky" (332), is not easily forgotten. Crawford's eyes too impressed everyone: his wife's cousin, George Washington Greene, long the American consul at Rome and one of Crawford's first American friends there, said that he had "prominent eyes of clear blue"²³; Hillard

²¹ Hicks, pp. 36-40; George S. Hillard, "Crawford and Sculpture," *Atlantic Monthly*, II (June, 1858), 70.

²² See Robert L. Gale, "The Eyes of Henry James," *The Optometric Weekly*, LII (August 17, 1961), 1607-10.

²³ Greene, p. 127.

wrote that "his eyes were blue, large, and expressive"²⁴; and the sculptor's daughter Mary Crawford Fraser never forgot his "blazing blue eyes under a broad, white forehead."²⁵ It was all the more tragic, then, that Crawford should have been stricken by cancer of the eye.

Both of the sculptors under consideration were energetic and impulsive. Still in Northampton, Hudson confesses to being driven by a "demon of unrest!" (32). When he gets to Rome, he pens for the benefit of those back home "large, loosely-written missives, which cost [him] unconscionable sums in postage" (75). Once started working, "He kept models in his studio till they dropped with fatigue," and we read further that he pushed his "Adam" "rapidly towards completion" during "the sublime act of creation" (80). Before he is finally drained of all power to continue by contact with Christina Light, his plans are most ambitious. For his part, Crawford too was restless: in a letter to Sumner he once wrote, "I regret that I have not an hundred hands to keep the pace with the workings of the mind."²⁶ It was often said of Crawford that his speed was phenomenal; his eulogist Thomas Hicks, for example, repeats the Roman legend that "he pitched his clay together with a trowel, struck it first with his right hand and then with his left, turned it thrice upon its pedestal, and it was finished."²⁷ When Crawford felt balked in his desire to wed Miss Ward, he too was capable of romantic gloom, although not of whining lassitude like Hudson; following after the light of *his* life, Crawford replied from Paris to his friend Greene, who evidently had reminded the love-dazed sculptor that he had ignored some bill-collectors back in Rome: "Tell them I am *dead* if you like, for I shall be until the next two months are over; that is to say, dead to all bills! . . . I think of settling down in America to make money and cut the fine arts!"²⁸ But this was not a typical pronouncement by Crawford. He married Miss Ward in New York, soon took her back to Rome with him, and worked happily ever after, until his premature death.

A parallel also related to the impetuosity of both sculptors is this:

²⁴ Hillard, "Thomas Crawford: A Eulogy," p. 50.

²⁵ Fraser, I, 33-34. For a portrait of Crawford, see Robert L. Gale, "Thomas Crawford, Dear Lou, and the Horse," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXVIII (April, 1960), opposite p. 180.

²⁶ Letter from Thomas Crawford to Charles Sumner, Rome, June 12, 1842, Sumner Papers, Houghton Library. Since Crawford's handwriting is normally a fast and difficult scrawl, I have thought it best to regularize his spelling and to punctuate. Most of Crawford's fast scribbles might impress a reader as having come from the pen of the impatient Hudson.

²⁷ Hicks, p. 33.

²⁸ Letter from Thomas Crawford to George Washington Greene, Paris, June 20, 1844, in the possession of Professor Thomas B. Brumbaugh, Emory University.

Hudson scoffs at his patron Mr. Leavenworth's phrenological vocabulary when the man speaks as follows:

"The cerebral development . . . strikes me as not sufficiently emphasised. Our subject being . . . Intellectual Refinement, there should be no mistaking the intellect, symbolised (wouldn't it be?) by an unmistakably thoughtful brow. The eye should instinctively seek the frontal indications. Couldn't you strengthen them a little?" (200).

Now, when Dr. Howe was in Rome in 1843 and 1844, he spent too much time studying busts in the Vatican from the point of view of phrenology to suit Crawford, his future brother-in-law, who is rumored to have scoffed as loudly as Hudson—and so did Howe's wife Julia.²⁹

Further, we read that Roderick Hudson, "like many men with a turn for the plastic arts, was an excellent mimic"; while still in New England, he is encouraged once to imitate his self-appointed mentor Mr. Striker and obliges by "represent[ing] with equal truth and drollery the accent and attitude of a pompous country lawyer" (35). We have his daughter Mary Crawford Fraser's word that Crawford was a mimic: once, she reports, he pretended to lecture in Greek to a group and fooled everyone with his daring harangue for a period of twenty minutes.³⁰ Also, an authority no less reputable than James Russell Lowell tells us that Crawford participated in an amateur theatrical—a burlesque of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*—in Rome during the winter of 1851-52.³¹

Crawford and Hudson held and aired a number of similar ideas. They both, for example, revered Rome and disliked things German, as did James himself. Crawford's first stay in Rome was of more than nine years' duration, from 1835 until 1844. Once in the Eternal City, it did not take Hudson long to speak as follows: "I've no intention of giving up Rome for six or eight years . . ." (123); earlier, in fact, he said that "he meant to live and die within the shadow of Saint Peter's" (122). On one occasion, Crawford wrote to Sumner from New York that he hoped soon to wind up his affairs there and in Virginia and "commence my travels," as he went on, "en route for the only city in the world worth living in. Need I say to you, my dear Sumner, that I allude to Rome? I go back to it with the same enthusiasm I had fifteen years since, when I bade my native land a long good night."³² On the other

²⁹ Tharp, p. 114; Harold Schwartz, *Samuel Gridley Howe: Social Reformer, 1801-1876* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), p. 116; Julia Ward Howe, p. 132-33.

³⁰ Fraser, I, 34.

³¹ Horace Elisha Scudder, *James Russell Lowell: A Biography* (2 vols.; Boston and New York, 1901), I, 332-33.

³² Letter from Thomas Crawford to Charles Sumner, New York, May 24, 1850, Sumner Papers, Houghton Library.

hand, when he was in Berlin in 1852 and saw Daniel Christian Rauch's fine equestrian statue of Frederick the Great, Crawford wrote his wife as follows: "I am sorry to be obliged to confess, dear Lou, that it is a very serious failure, at least in my eyes. . . . I have lost no courage by seeing this work of Rauch's. Modesty prevents me from writing more. I do not meet with any first-rate works, and those are all I care to look at." And he continued, "Berlin itself does not promise to keep me here, and so much the better. 'Tis much over-rated as regards its new palaces and museums."³³ One is reminded to a degree of Hudson's similarly irresponsible pronouncement: "Take me out of this land [Italy] of impossible beauty and put me in the midst of ugliness. Set me down where nature is coarse and flat and men and manners are vulgar. There must be something ugly enough in Germany. Pack me off, for goodness' sake, there!" (294).

Also, both Crawford and Hudson delighted in the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that would be America's. It is a commonplace that Crawford, along with most early nineteenth-century sculptors in Europe, vitiated much of his native talent by too often following the unoriginal Thorwaldsen, who followed Antonio Canova, who would have been a better artist if he had been less neoclassical. Likewise, Hudson gives evidence that he shares the mid-century curse when he proclaims his Hellenism: his first statue is called $\Delta\psi\eta$ (31); he tells Gloriani, "The Greeks never made anything ugly, and I'm a Hellenist" (88); and he is twice vaguely compared to Phidias (88-89, 114). At the outset of Crawford's career, Robert Browning's patron John Kenyon wrote as follows: "If Crawford is sustained in his art and keeps his health, he will be the first of modern sculptors; nay, an American may rival Phidias."³⁴ As to the future of American art, Hudson and Crawford were also in considerable agreement. Before he knows that Rome is in the offing for him, we read the following of James's young sculptor:

Roderick . . . declar[ed] that America was quite good enough for *him*, and that he had always thought it the duty of an honest citizen to stand by his own country and help it on. . . . The doctrine expanded with the occasion, and he declared that he was above all an advocate for American art. He didn't see why we shouldn't produce the greatest works in the world. We were the biggest people, and we ought to have the biggest conceptions. The biggest conceptions, of course, would bring forth in time the biggest performances (40).

³³ Letter from Thomas Crawford to Louisa Ward Crawford, Berlin, May 20, 1852, in my possession.

³⁴ Quoted in Hicks, p. 23.

Crawford appears to have been hardly more rational when he wrote to his patron as follows: "Between you and myself, dear Sumner, I allude to the foundation of a pure school of art in our country. We have surpassed already the republic of Greece in our political institutions, and I see no reason why we should not attempt to approach their excellence in the fine arts, which as much as anything else has secured undying fame to Grecian genius."³⁵

One final similarity—and this only coincidental, in all likelihood—is this. When Hudson thinks that Christina Light has broken her engagement to Prince Casamassima for him and that he is therefore secure if he simply remains very calm, he says to Mallet: "I'm keeping very quiet and behaving, I maintain, as a gentleman should. But I can't help my deep peace. I shall wait a while. I shall bide my time" (255). Now, when Crawford followed Dr. Howe, his wife Julia, and especially her sister Louisa first to Paris, then to London and finally to her home in New York, he took great pains to behave always as a gentleman should. He wrote calmly as follows to Sumner about the capitulating Ward family and its aides-de-camp in New York:

Indeed, their whole manner has been frank, gentlemanly, and earnest, leaving Miss Louisa to follow her own inclinations provided the marriage be deferred for a few weeks longer than we had anticipated. I of course am delighted to have any opportunity of showing that with myself no petty feeling can possibly exist to hurry matters, however anxiously I look for the ceremony (as 'tis coldly called) that will remove me from the "hell of quiet" in which I am now existing.³⁶

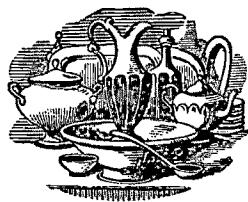
Poor Hudson bided his time to no avail, but the gentlemanliness of Crawford was rewarded. It is no wonder, then, that—for other reasons too, of course—he later adopted as his family motto "I Bide My Time."³⁷

³⁵ Letter from Thomas Crawford to Charles Sumner, Rome, June 12, 1842, Sumner Papers, Houghton Library. It may be that these early Yankee stonecutters could have contributed more toward founding an American school of sculpture if they had returned home from Italy after the completion of their training. Augustus Saint-Gaudens seems to have held this opinion concerning the whole Rome-Florence group of early expatriate American sculptors (*The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, ed. and amplified by Homer Saint-Gaudens [2 vols.; London: Andrew Melrose, 1918], I, 33); further, James suggests that W. W. Story's statues might have been more picturesque if they had been "gouge[d] out . . . from the block of his idea with a finer rage" in unpicturesque Boston, with its "air unfriendly to the element [of picturesqueness] at large" (James, *William Wetmore Story*, II, 226).

³⁶ Letter from Thomas Crawford to Charles Sumner, New York, September 7, 1844, Sumner Papers, Houghton Library.

³⁷ Several letters from Thomas Crawford to his wife have that motto impressed, evidently with a signet ring, in the sealing wax. Their novelist son Francis Marion Crawford used the same motto.

It would be an error to omit mention of the fact that in many ways Thomas Crawford differed from Roderick Hudson. Crawford had a less incandescent intelligence than the more literary and self-expressive Hudson—inevitably, since Henry James portrayed the latter—but Crawford disciplined himself to an extent that Hudson never could. Crawford was wonderfully considerate of others—of his mother and sister, his wife and children, his friends and colleagues, especially those who had not yet succeeded in their work. His production was steady, not sporadic like Hudson's; he was almost never in the doldrums. And he had a great deal more self-respect and will-power. It is not too much to say that if Christina Light had met him instead of Hudson at the Villa Ludovisi, in a little studio off the Corso, or along the upper portions of the Coliseum, she would have admired his *beaux yeux* and his brow with them and probably his voice too, she would have delighted in his statues and bas-reliefs, she would have known the luxury of respecting a man (174), and—as dear Lou did—she might have accepted his hand.



CUSHING STROUT
California Institute of Technology

The Unfinished Arch: William James and the Idea of History

THERE IS A PERSISTENT PIECE OF PROFESSORIAL FOLKLORE ABOUT WILLIAM James. His contribution to philosophy, according to the myth, was Pragmatism, a typically American reduction of theory to practice, which merely provided James and the tightfisted folk of the New World with a philosophy for getting along without any philosophy. Others have ably defended James as an individual from the ridiculous charge of opportunism by pointing out that this perpetual champion of the underdog and hater of bigness was a passionate foe of the American worship of "the bitch goddess SUCCESS" with its "squalid cash interpretation" and "callousness to abstract justice."¹ What requires even more emphasis is that for all his conversational tone and impatience with academic technicality James profoundly needed philosophy. In the crisis of his depression of 1870, marked by an ebbing of the will to live, he was characteristically saved, through the French philosopher Renouvier, by conversion to the philosophical doctrine of free will. After the formulation of his famous method of Pragmatism, he moved steadily toward the construction of a metaphysics. "I think the center of my whole *Anschauung*," he wrote in 1909, "since years ago I read Renouvier, has been the belief that something is doing in the universe, and that novelty is real."²

The pressing concern of his last years was to complete the architecture of his "tychism" which he had laid the foundation for in *Radical Empiricism* and *A Pluralistic Universe*. In the month before he died in

¹ Letter to H. G. Wells, Sept. 11, 1906, *Letters of William James*, ed. Henry James (2d ed.; 2 vols; Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1926), II, 260.

² Letter to James Ward, June 27, 1909, *The Thought and Character of William James*, ed. Ralph Barton Perry (2 vols; Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1936), II, 656.

1910 he wrote in a memorandum directing the publication of *Some Problems in Philosophy*, published posthumously in its fragmentary and unrevised condition: "Say that I hoped by it to round out my system, which now is too much like an arch built only on one side."³ If James hated "the abstract rigmarole in which our American philosophers obscure the truth," it was not because he had any animus against metaphysics or systematizing, but because he was too much the artist to tolerate "that kind of oozy writing."⁴ (As Santayana remarked, James not only did not talk like a book, he did not even write like a book—except like one of his own.) While his death cut short the completion of the arch of his bridge, the structure still stands as a provocative monument to a dynamic view of reality. As it hangs there in the air with the pathos of the unfinished, it tempts the charmed spectator to speculate on how it might have fulfilled its intention.

James was confident that the Pragmatic movement marked a new turn in thought, "something quite like the protestant reformation," which was destined for "definitive triumph."⁵ Recent scholarship has clearly demonstrated the broad American impact of what Morton G. White has called "the revolt against formalism" in philosophy, law, economics and history, and H. Stuart Hughes has saluted James as "the revivifying force in European thought in the decade and a half preceding the outbreak of the First World War."⁶ Yet fifty years after his death the philosophical scene seems to lack Jamesian landmarks. Logical positivism, symbolic logic, linguistic analysis, dialectical theology—none of these powerful currents of thought have a Jamesian source, direction or character. He stubbornly opposed the limitation of meaningful discourse to scientific statements; he mistrusted logic, hated verbalism, scorned the intellectualistic ingenuities of dialectic, and condemned the omniscient and omnipotent God of theology as "a disease of the philosophy-shop." If the imagination can conjure up the picture of James at a contemporary convention of professional philosophers, it boggles at conceiving how he would be able to contain himself. This hostile confrontation of James with present philosophical tendencies is, nevertheless, a misleading half-

³ Quoted by Henry James Jr., Prefatory Note, *Some Problems in Philosophy: A Beginning of an Introduction to Philosophy* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911), p. viii.

⁴ Letter to Dickinson S. Miller, December 6, 1905, *Letters of William James*, II, 237.

⁵ Letter to Henry James, May 4, 1907, *Letters of William James*, II, 279.

⁶ *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought 1890-1930* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), p. 397. See Morton G. White, *Social Thought in America: The Revolt against Formalism* (New York: Viking Press, 1949) and Cushing Strout, *The Pragmatic Revolt in American History: Carl Becker and Charles Beard* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), espec. pp. 26-28.

truth. There is one very modern philosophical interest with which James would profoundly sympathize: philosophy of history. (In his ethics James seems, because of his emphasis on an ultimate challenge to "our total character and personal genius," very close to existentialism, but characteristically without its tragic despair.) It is not, I hope, farfetched to imagine that if he were to complete the arch he had so brilliantly begun he would have had to move toward a philosophy of history.

The phrase "philosophy of history" is unhappily ambiguous, and I hasten to say that he would not have found himself sympathetic with grandiose efforts to see in the course of events some vast design decipherable only to the prophet's eye of faith. He would have had as little respect for a spiritual historical determinism as he showed for the pseudo-scientific effort of Herbert Spencer to discount the role of great men in history by a monistic appeal to "the aggregate of past conditions" or the pseudo-scientific ambition of Henry Adams to justify his pessimism by the application of the second law of thermodynamics to human history.⁷ What he would have sympathized with, I think, is a philosophy of history that makes time intrinsic to reality, sees in history the place where man makes himself in actions and institutions, and finds in it the morality of responsibility for commitments to finite enterprises. He would appreciate too the effort to provide explanations for past events without recourse to historical laws. From this point of view it is permissible to believe that James would have found nourishment in the writings of such varied modern historical thinkers as R. G. Collingwood, Ortega y Gasset, Raymond Aron, K. R. Popper and Isaiah Berlin. If James had been able to finish his arch, perhaps it would not be so difficult as it now is to find an American name in any list of significant philosophers of history.

These speculations of mine are based on a vivid and durable thread running through, to use one of his brother's phrases, "the figure in the carpet." This motif is always relevant to the idea of history, and it appears in his conception of psychology, truth and metaphysics. To see its place in the design may help give us a better sense of what the unfinished arch needed for its completion.

The most celebrated and fruitful concept in *The Principles of Psychology* is James's idea of "the stream of consciousness." By it he exposed the poverty of the traditional view of consciousness as a blank stare without orienting interest, temporal horizons or a penumbra of vagueness. This richer sense of the movement and complexity of awareness in the

⁷ See James, "Great Men and Their Environment," in *The Will to Believe, and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897), pp. 216-54 and Letter to Henry Adams, June 17, 1910, *Letters of William James*, II, 344-47.

individual has had, of course, an extraordinary development in literature, of which Gertrude Stein, one of James's most devoted pupils, is the first and most bizarre example. But the conception also influenced the writing of history. James spoke of the "specious present" of the individual's stream of consciousness as "no knife-edge, but a saddle-back, with a certain breadth of its own on which we sit perched, and from which we look in two directions into time."⁸ Carl Becker, in his classic study *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-century Philosophers*, applied this concept of the specious present to the mind of an age, or its "climate of opinion." Thus he showed how historians like Gibbon and Voltaire created an image of the past which made the writing of history a weapon in the warfare against tyranny and superstition. This same concept of the specious present he also used to dramatize the making of an American revolutionary in that witty amalgam of history and fiction, "The Spirit of '76." This charming essay tells the story of Jeremiah Wynkoop's conversion to reluctant rebellion, and Becker unifies the tale by focusing on the hero's "little world of opinion and conduct, held together by recollection of the past and hope for the future."⁹

The ideas of William James profoundly influenced historical theory, as well as practice. Becker's first statement in 1910 of his revolt against "scientific" history challenged historians to accept for their own field the implications of Pragmatism. Certainly in *The Principles of Psychology* he could have found a basis for his own attack on the notion of "reason cut loose from will and emotion, from purpose and passion . . ."¹⁰ In his well-known presidential address to the American Historical Association, "Everyman His Own Historian," Becker elaborated his historical relativism through the concept of the specious present. The value of history, he argued, is its enlargement and enrichment of the "specious present" of Mr. Everyman. Becker gave the idea a characteristically skeptical turn: memory of the past and anticipation of the future go hand in hand in the construction of historical knowledge, as they do with Mr. Everyman himself, and in the end it is not the historian who imposes his story on Mr. Everyman; it is rather Mr. Everyman "who imposes his version on us, compelling us, in an age of political revolution, to see that history is past politics, in an age of social stress and conflict to search for the economic interpretation."¹¹ The bent of the historian's

⁸ *The Principles of Psychology* (2 vols; London: Macmillan, 1891), I, 609.

⁹ See Strout, *The Pragmatic Revolt in American History*, pp. 68-85, for a discussion of this dimension of Becker's writing.

¹⁰ "Detachment and the Writing of History," *Atlantic*, CVI (1910), 527.

¹¹ "Everyman His Own Historian," in Becker, *Everyman His Own Historian: Essays on History and Politics* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1935), p. 253.

mind is, in short, determined by the dominant social forces of the day. Becker's private notes document his belief that James's picture of experience as a dynamic "going concern" (as portrayed in *A Pluralistic Universe*) had destroyed any final absolutes.¹²

Becker's relativism, which grew out of a revolt against "scientific" history with its cult of "cold, hard facts," "definitive" histories, "impersonal laws" and "objective detachment," closely parallels James's sustained polemic against the abstractions of old-fashioned empiricists, rationalists and idealists with their passive, spectatorial view of consciousness, their static timeless Truth and their "block universe" of spiritual or mechanical determinism. Pragmatism was a recognition of the historical nature of the truth-making process, just as relativism was an acknowledgement of the history of history.

James's influence on American historical theory was, however, like Pragmatism itself, of ambiguous value. Clearly, all truth has a history, and the growth of man's techniques for finding it has no calculable limits. The writing of history has a special dimension of growth because the continuing process of historical change perpetually opens up to view new relationships between an unfolding past and a moving present which seeks to maintain its orientation by resurveying its altered perspectives. Yet just as Becker substituted for a sterile pseudo-scientific conception of history a skeptical relativism which dangerously blurred the necessary distinction between history and propaganda, so also did James replace an artificial rationalism with a pragmatic theory that tended to obscure the responsibility of truth-finding procedures.

Becker transformed the history of history into a basis for skepticism by speaking of the past as "a kind of screen upon which we project our vision of the future; and it is indeed a moving picture, borrowing much of its form and color from our fears and aspirations."¹³ From this point of view written history becomes part of a struggle for survival, an instrument for moving practical programs into the future. The fact that practical historical problems stimulate the need to study the past is misread into a warrant for construing the past in terms of present hopes and fears.

In similar style James moved in his theory of truth from a plausible premise to a dubious conclusion. He insisted that truth happens to an idea, that a true idea performs a mediating function in relating old knowledge and new experience with "a minimum of jolt, a maximum of continuity." In finding truth men are obliged to take account of three

¹² "Miscellaneous," Notes, drawer 15, Becker Papers, Cornell University.

¹³ "What Are Historical Facts?" *Western Political Quarterly*, VIII (1955), 337.

aspects of reality: sensations, relations among particulars (both the external ones of date and place and the internal ones of mathematics and logic), and previous truths of experiences. Yet the human mind is intrinsically selective, and so there is a human element in all truth, and man's truths, like his actions, make genuine additions to a reality which is still "in the making."¹⁴ This position, as broadly stated, can be taken as an accurate picture of the actual development of knowledge, which presupposes active curiosity, working postulates, chosen hypotheses and revisable conclusions. But James went on to stress that the mediating idea's successful working is a matter for individual appreciation, and each person is also entitled to take as truths any ideas which are "helpful in life's practical struggles," if they do not clash with other beliefs having "vital benefits." In this way he opened the door to a personal relativism and the determination of truth, in at least one sense, by a belief's therapeutic value.

Both Becker and James were, of course, responsible intellectuals. Becker recognized, for example, that Algie M. Simons' history of the United States was really only socialist propaganda, written "without fear and without research," and it is likely that James, the friend of heresy, would have been depressed to see his concept of the "will to believe" transformed into the contemporary cult of "faith in faith," so prominent a part of current conformity. Yet neither man made it clear that a humanistic account of knowledge need not license an arbitrary subjectivity, subversive of the scruples of truth-seeking. In this respect Pragmatism was not humanistic enough. The demand which we impose on ourselves that our thought be responsible to what the evidence obliges us to believe is a precious human interest, and its assertion is what gives to thought its rigorous ardor. James was especially sensitive to the heroic element in life, but it was the price of his voluntarism that he could so eloquently praise "the stern and sacrificial mood" of character in action without responding equally well to the courageous integrity of the thinker's struggle to maintain his code of responsibility.

Thought and will need each other, but for both Becker and James they are not kept in the necessary tension. When they are merged, the pursuit of truth is subordinated to practical needs and action is deprived of the valuable guidance of knowledge. As a historian, Becker was understandably sensitive to the immersion of written histories in the historical milieu of a past period and its problems, and James, being a doctor and a psychologist, was naturally perceptive of the life-enhancing role of

¹⁴ *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1907), pp. 244-57.

"over-beliefs" in the lives of troubled individuals. But the logic of truth-statements cannot be reduced to their practical function in a social or personal context without indulging in a form of the genetic fallacy. It is a familiar frustration in the life of thought that every valuable revolt against a dominant orthodoxy can only make its way by a powerful polemic that tends to overstate its case.

If James's Pragmatism can be seen as an effort to give a historical account of the process of knowing, his Pluralism was also deeply responsive to the centrality of history in human experience. "We humans," he affirmed, "are incurably rooted in the temporal point of view."¹⁵ It was the nub of his objection to the Absolutes of Spinoza, Bradley and Royce that they made no direct contact with individual sympathies, remaining abstractions forever foreign to human ways:

As absolute, then, or sub specie eternitatis, or quatenus infinitus est, the world repels our sympathy because it has no history. *As such,* the absolute neither acts nor suffers, nor loves nor hates; it has no needs, desires or aspirations, no failures or successes, friends or enemies, victories or defeats. . . . I am finite once for all, and all the categories of my sympathy are knit up with the finite world *as such*, and with things that have a history. . . . I have neither eyes nor ears nor heart nor mind for anything of an opposite description, and the stagnant felicity of the absolute's own perfection moves me as little as I move it.¹⁶

James came close to affirming the secularity of all experience. "All 'homes' are in finite experience," he wrote in *Pragmatism*; "finite experience as such is homeless. Nothing outside of the flux secures the issue of it. It can hope salvation only from its own intrinsic promises and potencies."¹⁷ This is as bold an assertion of the absoluteness of human experience as one can find in modern literature. It is qualified only by James's charming but inconsistent conception of a finite God. (If God were not finite, he would have no history and so not need us.) If James was sympathetic to the religious effort to refer human life outside of itself for ultimate meaning, he characteristically built upon it only a kind of halfway house.

A consistent secularism would, I suggest, have been more compatible with James's affirmation of history. In a pregnant note to his famous essay "The Dilemma of Determinism" he wrote: "To say that time is an

¹⁵ *A Pluralistic Universe*, ed. Ralph Barton Perry (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1943), p. 40.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁷ *Pragmatism*, p. 260.

illusory appearance is only a roundabout manner of saying there is no real plurality, and that the frame of things is an absolute unit. Admit plurality, and time may be its form.”¹⁸ The idea of history as a plurality of histories with no extra-temporal justification or interpretation would have been thoroughly in keeping with his attack on all monisms. History would then have many centers of meaning; men would have their “homes” in particular historical communities; History as a whole would be “homeless.” James’s Pluralism would then define the intellectual perspective of the modern historian.

The historian cannot help but feel a profound sympathy for James’s Pluralism because by it he sought to make room for real possibilities, beginnings, endings, crises, evils and novelties—in short, for the world of history. The monistic vision of a thoroughly rationalized or mechanically determined world, in which the meaning of the parts is given by a prior unity, is based on the illusion that the world can be viewed from the outside as a total fact, as if man were capable of an omniscient perspective. “Something is always mere fact and givenness,” James maintained.¹⁹ For him the ultimate import of the free will issue was whether or not novelty could “leak” into the universe by way of the actualization of real possibilities:

Our sense of ‘freedom’ supposes that some things at least are decided here and now, that the passing moment may contain some novelty, be an original starting-point of events, and not merely transmit a push from elsewhere. We imagine that in some respects at least the future may not be co-implicated with the past, but may be really addable to it, and indeed addable in one shape or another, so that the next turn in events can at any given moment genuinely be ambiguous, i.e., possibly this, but also possibly that.²⁰

What James defended is the world the historian presupposes in his work—a world of happenings and actions in which particular events and decisions make an actual difference to the situation and might have been some other way. On this premise, as Isaiah Berlin has brilliantly argued, all efforts at historical judgment depend, for the historical sense of evaluation is acquired by putting what did happen in the context of what could have happened.²¹

In his last years James worked to round out his metaphysics of “tych-

¹⁸ *Essays on Faith and Morals*, ed. Ralph Barton Perry (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1947), p. 181.

¹⁹ Preface to *The Will to Believe*, reprinted as an Appendix to Perry, ed., *Essays on Faith and Morals*, p. 330.

²⁰ *Some Problems of Philosophy*, pp. 139-40.

²¹ *Historical Inevitability* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 31.

ism"—a world whose order is really in the making, like that of the historian's. He felt, as the historian must, the defects of the traditional view of causality in which the effects are said to be somehow contained within the causes, so that nothing new ever happens. James believed that Hume's famous skepticism about causality, based on the fact that no separate percept of connection, power or efficacy ever turns up in experience, was due to the perversion of his empiricism by intellectualistic prejudices which could not do justice to actual experience where both terms and their relations are found together in solution. Nor could he accept Kant's account of causation as the application of a categorical rule of uniformity because it still left the connection of events mysterious. The positivists were equally unsatisfactory because they stripped causality to the generalization of facts by laws.²² James's solution, consistent with his radical empiricism, was to look for a perceptual experience of "the kind of thing we mean by causation," and he found it in the individual's personal "activity-situations" where he strives to sustain a purpose against obstacles. Wherever causal agency may be actually located, a problem James did not pretend to settle, its characteristics are clearly revealed, he argued, in these personal endeavors:

The transitive causation in them does not, it is true, stick out as a separate piece of fact for conception to fix upon. Rather does a whole subsequent field grow continuously out of a whole antecedent field because it seems to yield new being of the nature called for, while the feeling of causality-at-work flavors the entire concrete sequence as salt flavors the water in which it is dissolved.²³

James's discussion was tantalizingly incomplete. He hinted at the possibility of a pan-psychism in which we would have to ascribe even to physical causality "an inwardly experiential nature." Certainly such a bizarre conclusion would not have embarrassed him. He was a psychologist with a personal and scientific interest in sick souls, the mystical claims of unconventional religions and the "spook-haunted" phenomena of psychical research. But much as I admire his openness to persons and ideas beyond the pale of respectable society, I have no wish here to follow his speculation in this odd direction. I wish instead to emphasize what might have been a less dubious fulfillment of his metaphysical purpose. Ralph Barton Perry, his most knowledgeable and sympathetic interpreter, surmises that James might have later spelled out a rational account of the "leaking" of novelty into the universe in this way:

²² See *Some Problems in Philosophy*, pp. 189-207.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

Event *a* would look forward to, and in some measure anticipate, *b*; *b*, when it came, would in some measure fulfill this anticipation and look back upon *a*. The prospect of *a*, and the retrospect of *b*, would overlap; *a* would be qualified by *b-about-to-come*, and *b* by *a-just-past*. . . . Each event would come as an unfolding, as something 'called-for' or 'looked-for,' but would also have in it an element of surprise.²⁴

This would have been the fulfillment of what James finally called, under the influence of Bergson, his "*synechism*."

James believed that to be faithful to the later movement of his thought he would reluctantly have to give up logic and accept Bergson's intuitionism. This desperate solution troubled him as it has troubled later philosophers, who were unfortunately thus given some cause to shake their heads sadly about James's impressionistic style of thought. I find it striking that no one seems to have noticed that the conception of causality for which James was groping has a firm basis in the actual procedure of the historian. In history significant events, like the American Revolution or the Civil War, are not deduced from antecedent circumstances, though these are always relevant to an understanding of such crises, nor does the historian's power to explain them depend upon his ability to have been able to have predicted them from a given set of past events. The historian's accounting is always hindsight, which requires the occurrence of the event. Looking backward with the benefit of the perspective provided by the event having happened, he tries to see the event as a complex fulfillment of active tendencies never quite working out according to plan. However helpful the social scientist's generalizations about regularities may be to the historian, he must fall back in the end upon this dynamic view of causality. Yet it is a conception that has still to make its impact upon contemporary discussion of the nature of historical explanation.

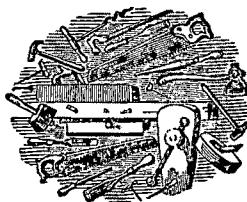
The historian can exploit this view of change only by the technique of narrative, which runs counter to that modern prejudice against storytelling as an evasion of analysis. Those who have this bias are enthralled instead with psychological generalizations, *suprahistorical* myths or sociological categories. From their point of view narrative is identified with the merely entertaining chronicle of fortuitous events, like the detective story. But the essential ingredient of plot, in literature or history, is the particular impact of the action upon particular agents. Narration for the historian is not a matter of telling "what happened next"; it is a way of defining and dramatizing the conflict of forces in their reciprocal response. To narrate this kind of happening is not to set the stage for

²⁴ Perry, ed., *The Thought and Character of William James*, II, 666.

a later explanation from outside the action; it is instead to make the action itself comprehensible through the drama of dialectical tension. To relate means to connect as well as to tell, and the historian's telling is a kind of connecting which finds in change the dynamics of development. This idea forms a link between James's "synechism" and the historian's work.

"... I live in apprehension lest the Avenger should cut me off before I get my message out," James wrote his brother in 1906. "It is an aesthetic tragedy to have a bridge begun," he added, "and stopped in the middle of an arch."²⁵ More than that, it is a loss to the philosophy of history in America that James could not finish what was, so far as it had been built, a structure eloquent in the wit of unpretentious candor, the grace of a humanistic temper and the high tension of an original mind.

²⁵ Letter to Henry James, Sept. 10, 1906, *Letters of William James*, II, 259.



HAROLD KIRKER &
BURLEIGH TAYLOR WILKINS
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Beard, Becker and the Trotsky Inquiry

READERS OF THE *American Quarterly* WILL BE INTERESTED IN EXAMINING letters written by two distinguished American liberals and historians, Charles A. Beard and Carl Becker, in which they replied to invitations to join the Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials.

After the first Moscow Trial in 1936, a group of American liberals, radicals and Trotskyites banded together as the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky. This Committee consisted of such widely known intellectuals and scholars as Franz Boas, John Chamberlain, John Dos Passos, Louis Hacker, Sidney Hook, Suzanne LaFollette, Reinhold Niebuhr, Norman Thomas and Edmund Wilson; George Novack was its Secretary. The group was determined that Trotsky be given a hearing before world opinion in order to defend himself against Stalinist charges that he and his son, Sedov, had conspired against the lives of Joseph Stalin and other Soviet leaders, had worked with foreign powers against the Soviet government and had organized acts of sabotage in Soviet industries. To realize this aim a Commission of Inquiry was created in 1937 to go to Mexico where Trotsky had taken refuge. John Dewey, who was then seventy-eight years old, set aside the completion of his *Logic* and agreed to travel to Mexico as head of this Commission. There the Commission would take evidence directly from Trotsky and listen to his self-defense.

The background of this proposed inquiry lay in long-standing differences between Stalin and Trotsky concerning the policies which the U.S.S.R. should follow. In the 1920s Stalin's policy of "socialism in one country" triumphed over Trotsky's "hopes for an intensive revolutionary

policy to be pursued on the international level, and in 1927 Trotsky was expelled from the Communist Party. The assassination in 1934 of Kirov served as a useful pretext for Stalin's further persecution of his opponents, which culminated in the Moscow Trials of 1936. Here Prosecutor Andrei Vyshinsky, with the aid of "confessions" obtained from persons who admitted to having conspired with Trotsky, secured a conviction of Trotsky and others for having betrayed the Revolution of 1917. Although Trotsky was no longer in the U.S.S.R., he felt he had been unjustly condemned and discredited before the world for crimes of which he was innocent. He asked for a chance to present his case, and in response to this appeal the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky organized the Commission of Inquiry.

It is difficult today to reconstruct the impact of the Moscow Trials upon American liberals and radicals. That they offered a "test of conscience" to these Americans is, however, abundantly clear. Should sympathy toward the Soviet "experiment" be permitted to obscure the neglect of individual liberties and the lack of judicial safeguards of these liberties which had been so in evidence in the Moscow Trials? The Spanish Civil War complicated matters even further, and the felt need for a united front against fascism stood in the way of protests based upon the dictates of individual conscience. Surely it was an "inconvenient" time for the enemies of fascism to quarrel over judicial procedures in the U.S.S.R. and the "rights" of Trotsky.

In a major editorial of February 6, 1937, the *Nation* held that "the sympathetic outsider" could criticize the Moscow Trials but ought nevertheless to refuse to use them to disparage "Russia's positive achievements in building a collective economy."¹ The *New Republic* on February 3, 1937, called the third Moscow Trial "unbelievable" and a world tragedy. Still it felt that an investigation such as Trotsky demanded "is unlikely to be held, or to have any value if it were."² Two weeks later, on February 17, the *New Republic* decided that the truth concerning the Trials couldn't be known and that the question of the innocence of the men condemned in Moscow was distracting from the unity of American liberals on questions of greater importance.³

Thus the establishment of the Commission of Inquiry to go to Mexico was met with cries of "Don't rock the boat"; and Dewey's decision to head this Commission enraged those who remembered his sympathetic

¹ *Nation*, CXXXXIV (February 6, 1937), 145.

² *New Republic*, LXXXIX (February 3, 1937), 400-1.

³ *New Republic*, LXXX (February 17, 1937), 33. In March 17, 1937, the *New Republic* gave the Spanish Civil War and the organization of American labor top priority. LXXX, 169-70.

impressions of the Soviet experiment gathered during a trip to Russia in 1928 and published the following year in *Soviet Russia and the Revolutionary World*.⁴ But significant changes had taken place in Russia in the years between 1928 and 1937, and Dewey's decision to go to Trotsky must be interpreted as proof of his open-mindedness and willingness to check hypotheses previously held against new data. Surely there is something admirable if quixotic in the story of Dewey's Mexican venture.⁵

Not only did Dewey suffer from the criticism of those sympathetic to Stalinist Russia; he suffered also because of the indifference of independent liberals who wanted no part in what they believed to be an intra-mural quarrel among Marxists and who doubted that the truth could be found out. Two distinguished liberals, Charles A. Beard and Carl Becker, refused Dewey's invitation to join his Commission of Inquiry. Thus they deflated his hope that the services of trained historians with proven ability in sifting evidence could be secured.

In the following letters Beard and Becker explain their reasons for refusing to serve: the former raises a problem of method that should interest students of any of the great trials of our era; the latter asks an embarrassing question concerning consistency: in view of Trotsky's denunciation of Stalin, why hadn't Trotsky, as an avowed revolutionist, entered into some kind of conspiracy against Stalin?

Charles A. Beard was invited to join the Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky in the fall of 1936 by George Novack. He declined in the following hand-written letter:

New Milford, Conn., Sept. 26

Dear Mr. Novack,

You must forgive me for declining to accede to your request. I am daily bombarded by telegrams and letters asking me to underwrite this and that. In sheer self-defense—to get a little time for study—I am compelled to adhere to a simple rule: Don't underwrite committees (for they may do anything) and stick to matters of which I have some personal knowledge.

Yours sincerely,

Charles A. Beard

Six months later Novack again wrote to Beard, this time asking him to serve on the Commission of Inquiry. Novack's second letter, like the

⁴ John Dewey, *Soviet Russia and the Revolutionary World* (New York, 1929), *passim*.

⁵ See James T. Farrell's "Dewey in Mexico" in *John Dewey: Philosopher of Science*, edited by Sidney Hook (New York, 1950), pp. 351-77. Farrell accompanied Dewey to Mexico but did not serve on the Commission.

one referred to above, seems to be lost, but it was probably sent in the middle of March. Again Beard refused to become involved:

Washington, D.C.
March 19, 1937

Dear Mr. Novack,

The invitation to serve on the Commission charged with exploring the charges against Mr. Trotsky is a tribute to my sense of fair play, which I appreciate, even if I may not deserve it. After a careful study of many documents in the case, including the official report of the last Moscow trial, I have arrived at certain conclusions which preclude my acceptance of the invitation extended on behalf of your committee. I owe it to you to set them forth briefly.

In the first place the charges against Mr. Trotsky rest upon the confessions made in the trial court. From a long study of historical problems I know that confessions, even when voluntarily made, are not positive proof. Accused persons have confessed to personal communications with the devil, to riding broomsticks in the sky, to witchcraft, to sorcery, and to causing death and destruction by resort to evil spirits. Confession unsupported by other evidence is not proof beyond a reasonable doubt. As far as I am able to ascertain the confessions made in the Russian trial court were not supported by any corroborating evidence which has been made available to us. Hence I do not regard the charges that Mr. Trotsky entered into a conspiracy against the Russian government as proved beyond all reasonable doubt.

In the second place, I apply to Mr. Trotsky the rule applied in American jurisprudence, namely, that he is to be deemed innocent of the charges until they are proved beyond all reasonable doubt. He may be distressed by charges but he is entitled to be deemed innocent of these charges until corroborating evidence has been produced.

In the third place, it is almost, if not entirely, impossible to prove a negative in such a case, namely, that Mr. Trotsky did not enter into the relations of conspiracy charged against him. Naturally, as an old revolutionist, experienced in the art, he would not keep incriminating records of the operations, if he did engage in them. Furthermore, no person in the world could prove that he has not engaged in a conspiracy, unless he had a guard set over him every moment of the time covered by the charges. In my opinion it is not incumbent upon Mr. Trotsky to do the impossible, that is, prove a negative by positive evidence. It is incumbent upon his accusers to produce more than confessions, to produce corroborating evidence to specific and overt acts.

Having reached these conclusions in advance of the invitation, and believing them to be sound, I am thus precluded from taking part in an inquiry, such as your Committee suggests.

Yours sincerely,
Charles A. Beard

On March 23, 1937, Louis Hacker telegraphed Beard asking to see him at his home in New Milford, Connecticut. The following morning Beard sent his reply to Hacker:

I HAVE POSITIVELY DECIDED AGAINST SERVING ON ANY
COMMISSION

CHARLES A. BEARD

Four days later Beard wrote a letter explaining his stand to Norman Thomas, who also had asked him to serve on the Commission:

New Milford, Conn., March 27

Dr. Mr. Thomas,

Thanks very much for your kind letter. I agree with you that this controversy is distressing, but, after studying hundreds of pages of "literature" pro and con, I have come to the conclusion that nothing that any commission could do would mitigate it. Neither Trotsky nor anyone else can prove a sweeping negative. Certainly Trotsky is not going to give a commission any letters and papers incriminating himself, if he is guilty; and if he is innocent he could scarcely supply proof that he did not write letters to "conspirators" in Russia. A commission could not arrive at anything like a true verdict without hearing both sides, and the Russian government will not submit to an inquest there. Nothing like a "true verdict" can be reached now. A negative or qualified verdict would merely serve to enrage one side or the other. If Trotsky has contravailing evidence, let him publish it. The press is certainly open to him. Although representatives of both sides who have come to me now are sweet as honey, they have written bitter things about me in the past, and will do so again, no matter what I do. So I see no way to mitigate the bitterness of the conflict. It will have to wear itself out. At all events I am not under the delusion that I could do anything that would satisfy either side.

Sincerely yours,

Charles A. Beard

On April 6, 1937, Felix Morrow, Acting Secretary of the Committee, wrote to Beard defending the Committee's procedure and Trotsky's ability to make an effective defense. Already George Novack, John Dewey and several others had left for Mexico:

April 6, 1937

Dear Dr. Beard:

This is to acknowledge and to thank you for your letter dated March 19th, giving your reasons for declining our invitation to serve on the commission to investigate the charges against Trotsky.

We shall not burden you with our regrets, but they exist nevertheless. Literally every committee member consulted on personnel for the commission suggested your name.

We hope that you will publish an analysis of the Moscow trials, although we frankly feel that, weighty as your individual analysis will be, it would have been of more importance as part of a common inquiry.

Your point that it is "impossible to prove a negative in such a case" is well taken as a fundamental rule; and, indeed, has served to clarify a number of us on the objective limitations to proving a negative by positive evidence. Nevertheless, it happens to be true that Trotsky has been constantly under guard and police surveillance since his expulsion from Russia; this was particularly true in France and Norway. Furthermore, Trotsky poses this question: I am prepared to prove that I have written a dozen books, a score of pamphlets, hundreds of articles and thousands of letters, which required practically all my time, and which all together embody a coherent ideology, which is contrary to that of the alleged letters and conspiratorial [*sic*] meetings on which the trials are based. Is it logically conceivable that I would spend practically all my time covering up what I did a small part of the time? Is it psychologically possible that I could expend such gigantic effort while really believing the contrary?

Perhaps the stenographic record of the hearings at which Dr. Dewey will preside and John Finerty will cross-examine Trotsky, will throw further light on how far Trotsky can go in proving the negative.

May I again thank you, on behalf of our members, for your courtesy in explaining your stand.

Sincerely yours,

Felix Morrow
Acting Secretary

On March 23, 1937, George Novack wrote to Carl Becker at Cornell University asking whether Becker would go to Mexico with the Commission or, failing that, whether he would serve on the full Commission that would hold sessions in New York after Dewey's return from Mexico. The request that Becker accompany Dewey to Mexico was made on such short notice that one feels Becker was regarded as a possible last-minute substitute for Beard. Despite the fact that Novack reported Dewey as approving "heartily" of Becker as a member of the Commission and despite Becker's genuine admiration of Dewey, Becker sent a hand-written letter to Novack by return mail in which he excused himself from this task:

Ithaca, New York

March 25, 1937

Dear Mr. Novack,

I regret to say that it will not be possible for me to serve on the commission. Last year I was in the hospital for four months, off and on; and while I am now apparently in good health, I find it necessary to conserve my energy for the ordinary routine, and arrears of work to which I am already committed. I appreciate very much Mr. Dewey's desire to have me serve, and I hope you will convey to him my regrets, and the reasons which make it impossible for me to accept the invitation.

Sincerely yours,

Carl Becker

Felix Morrow replied to Becker on April 12, 1937 and enclosed a copy of Beard's letter of March 19 to Novack:

April 12, 1937

Dear Dr. Becker:

This will acknowledge your letter of March 25th, which was to have been answered by Dr. Dewey; but he was unable to do so in the bustle of getting off to Mexico. He expressed his regrets at your inability to serve with him on the commission of inquiry.

We particularly regretted your inability to serve because we felt that an able historian was the ideal commissioner, for it is not so much legal training, as the combination of the historical approach and the capacity to give the right weight to documents, which are required for this task.

We would very much appreciate a letter by you for publication in our Bulletin, endorsing the value of an adequate investigation of the charges in the Moscow trials.

For your information I enclose copy of a letter from Dr. Charles A. Beard.

Sincerely yours,

Felix Morrow

Becker replied to Morrow as follows:

ITHACA, NEW YORK

April 16, 1937

Dear Mr. Morrow,

There were adequate reasons of a personal nature, as I indicated in my reply to Mr. Novack, why I could not serve on the Commission. But apart from those reasons I should not be disposed to serve. The reasons would be similar on the whole to those given by Charles Beard, a copy of whose letter you have sent me.

I might add that there is a point which I have not seen mentioned, but which seems to me to merit attention. What, after all, is it that Trotzky needs to be "defended" against? He has become a dramatic world figure—the leader of those who believe that the sacred cause of Communism has been "betrayed" by Stalin and the present Soviet policies. In speech and writing he has denounced the present regime in Russia as the chief obstacle to the progress of true Communism. From the point of view of his own philosophy and his personal prestige, it would seem to be his duty to further every effort to overthrow Stalin and establish true Communism in Russia. If Trotzky has not, as he asserts, been involved in the alleged "conspiracy" to attain that end, the obvious question seems to be, "Why not?" No doubt there are good reasons. I can think of two. But from Trotzky's point of view, I should think that these reasons, whatever they may be, would provide the only "defense" he could feel in need of.

Sincerely yours,
Carl Becker

Needless to say, Becker's letter was not suitable for Morrow's purposes.

In the Becker Papers at Cornell University there is a brief, undated note from Charles A. Beard agreeing with Becker that they decided rightly in refusing to serve on the Commission.⁶ This marked the end of any personal concern they may have had with the Trotsky case. The historian can only wonder whether the presence of either or both of these men in Mexico or on the Commission in New York would have altered the procedures or the conclusions of the Commission. Perhaps not, but surely they would have enhanced considerably the reputation of the Commission. Despite their own "historical relativism" they could have added strength to the claims of objectivity and fairness which the Commission and its friends made on behalf of its findings.

The Commission of Inquiry held thirteen hearings in Mexico from April 10 to April 17, 1937. In order not to embarrass the Mexican government with requests for police protection of public hearings in Mexico City, the Commission met in Diego Rivera's house in Coyoacan where Trotsky lived. The audience was limited to about fifty persons, mostly newspaper correspondents. The Commission showed every consideration to Trotsky, so much so that one of its members, Carleton Beals, resigned in protest against the Commission's "partiality" toward Trotsky. The en-

⁶ Charles A. Beard to Carl Becker, New Milford, Connecticut [1937]. Becker Papers, Regional History Archives, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

suing quarrel between Beals and the Commission was a bitter one,⁷ but the Commission was able to continue without him. Otto Ruehle, who lived in Mexico City, remained to obtain additional testimony from Trotsky after John Dewey, Benjamin Stolberg and Suzanne LaFollette returned to the United States.

In *Truth Is on the March* Dewey reported that if, after a final assessment of the evidence, Trotsky were found innocent, then the Soviet Union would be guilty of "deliberate, systematic persecution and falsification."⁸ In the final report of the Commission this conclusion was reached: "We . . . find the Moscow trials to be frame-ups. We . . . find Trotsky and Sedov not guilty." The Commission denounced the trial procedures at Moscow, found that the confessions accepted there as evidence were inherently improbable, and declared that Prosecutor Vyshinsky had "fantastically falsified Trotsky's role before, during, and after the October Revolution."⁹

Dewey was quoted in the *Washington Post* as saying that "The great lesson to be derived from the amazing revelations [at Coyoacan] is the complete breakdown of revolutionary Marxism."¹⁰ Not all liberals, however, were willing to accept this verdict—or the findings of Dewey's Commission. Ironically some of the theoretical objections raised earlier by Beard in his correspondence with George Novack and Norman Thomas were now raised by critics of the Commission: how could one arrive at a true verdict without hearing both sides?

The *Nation* on May 1, 1937, reported Beals's defection from the Commission as fatal. Following Beals's argument, the magazine denied the impartiality of the Commission members, except for Dewey, and regretted the Commission's link with the Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky. The *Nation* felt that "the whole performance so far has been a waste of time, effort, and money."¹¹ In an editorial of December 25, 1937, the same journal acknowledged that the Commission had by then produced an "impressive defense" of Trotsky. Still it expressed regret that Trotsky's innocence couldn't be tested against counter-evidence in possession of the Soviet government, that Trotsky couldn't be cross-examined by his accusers, and that the Commission had been committed in advance

⁷ See Beals's statement in the *New Republic*, LXXXXX (April 28, 1937), 343. For Dewey's reply see his *Truth Is on the March* (New York, 1937), pp. 8-9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁹ *Not Guilty: Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials* (New York, 1938), p. xv.

¹⁰ John Dewey quoted by Agnes E. Meyer, *Washington Post*, December 19, 1937.

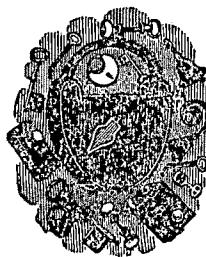
¹¹ *Nation*, CXXXIV (May 1, 1937), 496-97.

to Trotsky's innocence. It ended by claiming that a dispassionate observer could not prove Trotsky to be either guilty or innocent.¹²

Such reasoning, however, did little to stem the growing alienation of important American liberals and radicals from the Soviet cause. Early in 1937, Edmund Wilson wrote that "One of the worst drawbacks of being a Stalinist at the present time is that you have to defend so many falsehoods."¹³ The findings of Dewey's Commission of Inquiry served to support Wilson's thesis. Finally the assassination of Trotsky on August 20, 1940, by a person believed to be a Stalinist agent was convincing proof that the questions of guilt or innocence, of judicial procedures and the nature of evidence, were not "academic questions."

¹² *Nation*, CXXXXV (December 25, 1937), 703.

¹³ Edmund Wilson, "The Literary Left," *New Republic*, LXXXIX (January 20, 1937), 345.



TRISTRAM P. COFFIN
University of Pennsylvania

Folklore in the American Twentieth Century*

THE POPULARITY OF FOLKLORE IN AMERICA STANDS IN DIRECT PROPORTION to the popularity of nationalism in America. And the emphasis on nationalism in America is in proportion to the growth of American influence across the world. Thus, if we are to observe American folklore in the twentieth century, we will do well to establish the relationships between folklore, nationalism and imperialism at the outset.

Historians have come to recognize two cardinal facts concerning nationalism and international influence. 1) Every age rewrites the events of its history in terms of what should have been, creating legends about itself that rationalize contemporary beliefs and excuse contemporary actions. What actually occurred in the past is seldom as important as what a given generation feels must have occurred. 2) As a country superimposes its cultural and political attitudes on others, it searches its heritage in hopes of justifying its aggressiveness. Its folklore and legend, usually disguised as history, are allowed to account for group actions, to provide a focal point for group loyalty, and to become a cohesive force for national identification.

One can apply these facts to Britain in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as she spread her dominion over palm and pine, and they can be applied again to the United States in more recent years. The popularity of local color literature before the Spanish-American War, the steady currency of the Lincoln myth, the increased emphasis on the

* A few of the illustrations and ideas used in this discussion have appeared in print before. The classification of American folklorists was included in the speech "The State of Folklore and the State of Ohio" printed in *Midwest Folklore*, Spring 1953, pp. 19-27. I have also borrowed from a series of discussions on folklore and American history held in one of my classes in folklore at Denison University in 1950. Robert Seager, who led the discussions, published remarks stemming from these classroom interchanges under the title "American Folklore and History: Observations on Potential Integration" in *Midwest Folklore*, Winter 1951, pp. 213-22.

frontier west in our mass media are cases in point. Nor is it an accident that baseball, growing into the national game in the last 75 years, has become a microcosm of American life, that learned societies such as the American Folklore Society and the American Historical Association were founded in the 1880s, or that courses in American literature, American civilization, American anything have swept our school and college curricula.

Of course, nationalism has really outlived its usefulness in a country as world-oriented as ours, and its continued existence reflects one of the major culture lags of the twentieth-century United States. Yet nationalism has lost few of its charms for the historian, writer or man in the street. It is an understandable paradox that most American history and most American literature is today written from an essentially egocentric and isolationistic point of view at the very time America is spreading her dominion over palm and pine. After all, the average American as he lies and waits for the enemy in Korea or as she scans the newspaper in some vain hope of personal contact with the front is unconcerned that his or her plight is the result of a complex of personal, economic and governmental actions far beyond the normal citizen's comprehension and control. Anyone's identification with an international struggle, whether warlike or peaceful, requires absurd oversimplification and intense emotional involvement. Such identification comes for each group in each crisis by rewriting history into legend and developing appropriate national heroes.

In America, such self-deception has served a particularly useful purpose. A heterogeneous people have needed it to attain an element of cultural and political cohesion in a new and ever-changing land. But we must never forget, most of the appropriate heroes and their legends were created overnight, to answer immediate needs, almost always with conscious aims and ends. Parson Weems's George Washington became the symbol of honesty and the father image of the uniting States. Abraham Lincoln emerged as an incarnation of the national Constitution. Robert E. Lee represented the dignity needed by a rebelling confederacy. And their roles are paralleled by those of Patrick Henry, Nathan Hale, Andrew Jackson, Davy Crockett, Theodore Roosevelt and many, many more.

Therefore, the scholar, as he looks at our national folklore of the last 60 years, will be mindful of two facts. 1) Most of the legends that are created to fan the fires of patriotism are essentially propagandistic and are not folk legends at all. 2) The concept that an "American national folklore" exists is itself probably another propagandistic legend.

Folklore is individually created art that a homogeneous group of

people preserve, vary and recreate through oral transmission. It has come to mean myths, legends, tales, songs, proverbs, riddles, superstitions, rhymes and such literary forms of expression. Related to written literature, and often remaining temporarily frozen in written form, it loses its vitality when transcribed or removed from its oral existence. Though it may exist in either literate or illiterate societies, it assumes a role of true cultural importance only in the latter.

In its propagandistic and commercial haste to discover our folk heritage, the public has remained ignorant of definitions such as this. Enthusiastically, Americans have swept subliterary and bogus materials like Paul Bunyan tales, Abe Lincoln anecdotes and labor union songs up as true products of our American oral tradition. Nor have we remembered that in the melting pot of America the hundreds of isolated and semi-isolated ethnic, regional and occupational groups did not fuse into a homogeneous national unit until long after education and industrialization had caused them to cast oral tradition aside as a means of carrying culturally significant material.

Naturally, such scholarly facts are of little concern to the man trying to make money or fan patriotism by means of folklore. That much of what he calls folklore is the result of beliefs carefully sown among the people with the conscious aim of producing a desired mass emotional reaction to a particular situation or set of situations is irrelevant. As long as his material is Americana, can in some way be ascribed to the masses and appears "democratic" to his audience, he remains satisfied.

From all this we can now see that two streams of development run through the history of twentieth-century American folklore. On the one side we have the university professors and their students, trained in Teutonic methods of research, who have sought out, collected and studied the true products of the oral traditions of the ethnic, regional and occupational groups that make up this nation. On the other we have the flag-wavers and the national sentimentalists who have been willing to use any patriotic, "frontier western" or colonial material willy-nilly. Unfortunately, few of the artists (writers, movie producers, dramatists and musicians) who have used American folklore since 1900 have known enough to distinguish between the two streams even in the most general of ways. After all, the field is large, difficult to define and seldom taught properly to American undergraduates. In addition, this country has been settled by many peoples of many heritages and their lore has become acculturated slowly, in an age of print and easy communication, within an ever-expanding and changing society. The problems confuse even the experts.

For that matter, the experts themselves are a mixed breed. Anthro-

pologists, housewives, historians and such by profession, they approach their discipline as amateurs, collectors, commercial propagandists, analysts or some combination of the four. They have widely varying backgrounds and aims. They have little "esprit de corps."

The outlook for the amateur, for instance, is usually dependent on his fondness for local history or for the picturesque. His love of folklore has romanticism in it, and he doesn't care much about the dollar-sign or the footnote. Folklore is his hobby, and he, all too rightly, wishes it to remain as such. The amateur is closely related to the collector, who is actually no more than the amateur who has taken to the field. The collector enjoys the contact with rural life; he hunts folklore for the very "field and stream" reasons that many persons hunt game; and only rarely is he acutely concerned with the meaning of what he has located. Fundamentally, both these types, the amateur and the collector, are uncritical and many of them don't distinguish well between real folklore and bogus material.

But there are also the commercial propagandists and the analysts—one dominated by money, the other by nineteenth-century German scholarship. Both are primarily concerned with the uses that can be made of the material that the collector has found. Both shudder at the thought of proceeding too far beyond the sewage system and the electric light lines. The commercial propagandist, who can't afford to be critical, gets along well with the amateur, from whom he feeds, but he frequently steps on the analyst's toes by refusing to keep his material genuine. His standards are, of course, completely foreign to those of the analyst. To both the amateur and the commercial propagandist the analyst lacks a soul, lacks appreciation with his endless probings and classifications. Dominated by the vicious circle of the university promotion system, the analyst looks down on and gets along poorly with the other three groups, although he cannot deny his debt to the collector.

The knowledge that most Americans have of folklore comes through contact with commercial propagandists and a few energetic amateurs and collectors. The work done by the analysts, the men who really know what folklore is all about, has no more appeal than any other work of a truly scientific sort and reaches a limited, learned audience. Publishers want books that will sell, recording studios want discs that will not seem strange to ears used to hillbilly and jazz music, grade and high schools want quaint, but moral, material. The analyst is apt to be too honest to fit in. As a result, most people don't have more than a vague idea what folklore actually is; they see it as a potpourri of charming, moral legends and patriotic anecdotes, with a superstition or remedy thrown in here and there. And so well is such ignorance preserved by

the amateur and the money-maker that even at the college level most of the hundred-odd folklore courses given in the United States survive on sentiment and nationalism alone.

If one wishes to discuss a literary figure who uses folklore in his work, the first thing he must realize is that the literary figure is probably part of this ignorant American public. And while every writer must be dealt with as a special case, the interested student will want to ask himself a number of questions about each. Does the writer know the difference between an "ersatz" ballad or tall tale and a true product of the folk? When the writer uses material does he tamper with it to improve its commercial effect or does he leave it pure? Is the writer propagandistic? Is he swept away by sentiment and nostalgia for an America that was? Or does he sincerely want to tap the real springs of American attitude and culture regardless of how unpopular and embarrassing they may be?

When he gets the answers to his questions he will be discouraged. In the first place, a good many writers who are said to use folklore, do not, unless one counts an occasional superstition or tale. Robert Frost, for instance, writes about rural life in New England, but he does not include any significant amount of folklore in his poems. This has not, however, prevented publishers from labeling him a "folk poet," simply because he is a rural one. In the second place, a large number of writers, making a more direct claim than Frost to being "folk writers" of one sort or another, clearly make no distinctions between genuine and bogus material. Stephen Vincent Benét's *John Brown's Body* comes immediately to mind in this connection, as does John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* and Carl Sandburg's *The People, Yes*. The last two writers introduce strong political bias into their works, and not unlike the union leaders that we will discuss soon, see folklore as a reservoir of protest by a down-trodden and publically silenced mass. Folklore, as used by such writers, really reflects images engraved into it by the very person using it. The folk are simply not homogeneous with respect to nation or political attitude. In fact, there is much evidence to indicate they don't care a bit about anything beyond their particular regional, ethnic and occupational limits. Nevertheless, with a reading public that longs for the "good old days" and with an awareness of our expanding international interests, it is easy for the Benéts to obtain a magnified position in literature by use of all sorts of Americana, real or fake, and it is easy for the Steinbecks and Sandburgs to support their messages of reform by reading messages of reform into the minds of the folk.

Writers such as Benét, Steinbeck and Sandburg are sincere, if sentimental. Except for the fact that they have a message to convey, they are much like the pure sentimentalists who see in folklore something steady

and reliable, like grandpa, in these times of trouble and change. Nor does the fact that the real products of oral tradition are amoral, unsentimental and frank bother such persons for they seldom use real folklore anyhow, at least not without first adapting it to their ideas of what folklore should be. Hart Crane's *The Bridge*, a poem which attempts to fuse the dissident elements of America, uses Paul Bunyan and Rip Van Winkle with the implication Bunyan and Van Winkle are true folklore, while the whole school of folk drama, inspired by Frederick Koch and reflected in the works of Paul Green, Lynn Riggs, Rodgers and Hammerstein and Thomas Wolfe, makes a sentimental substitution of Americana for less palatable real folklore.

As writers such as the ones named have used what they want to believe is folklore, the critics have gotten into the act too. Influenced by Freud, who seems to have been somewhat hazy as to what folklore actually is, and by the myth-ritualists, who erroneously feel that folktales must have their origin in ancient tribal ritual patterns, a large group of critics boldly see such works as William Faulkner's *The Bear* or Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* as modern symbols of ancient and subconscious American culture dreams and urges. The unalterable fact that folklore in the United States is in one sense too broad and in another too narrow to synchronize with American nationalism escapes these critics, who, like many of the writers they analyze, are bidding directly for commercial and political approval.

Similar patterns also emerge when we observe the history of American folklore scholarship from 1900 on. A look at the ballad and the tall tale will adequately demonstrate the point, though other examples might serve as well.

Interest in the ballad developed in Scotland and England during the Romantic Movement. In America, interest arose much later. The great pioneer ballad scholar of this country was Francis James Child, a Harvard University philologist, who began work on his classic collection of *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* before the Civil War and completed his final five-volume edition in 1898. Child, who was inspired by the Dane, Grundtvig, focused his energies on Britain. Although he included a few American variants of British songs in his work, he seems to have been convinced that the traditional ballad had not flourished in America. It remained for men inspired by his efforts to show that even the oldest British ballads had more currency in the States than they had in the Isles. Ironically, where an American had done the great collection of English and Scottish ballads, it was an Englishman, Cecil Sharp, who did much of the early unearthing of American ballads. As Sharp worked in the Southern Appalachians during the early twentieth

century, he was joined by a host of Harvard-trained folksong scholars, Phillips Barry, John Lomax, George Lyman Kittredge, John Harrington Cox and others. These men soon learned that there was a great deal of British and native balladry in the States. Generally, they shared these feelings: the ballad was dying out, the old songs were treasured only by the older people and there was need for haste in the collecting.

The result has been a mass of helter-skelter collections of American ballads, some magnificent, some done with little care. Nor has the feverish collecting ceased; the cities, untapped remote areas and shy ethnic groups still yield a good crop of folk material. Scholars have probed, classified and archived thousands of American folksongs. They have done a good job, but as scholars usually do have done it in an ivory tower. The less scholarly minds are the ones who have sensed the public appetite for such Americana and have gone about devising ways to utilize it for various political and commercial purposes.

Trading on the fact that arranged folksongs are good songs, are in the public domain, and have an aura of democracy about them, the labor unions, particularly the International Workers of the World, began adapting them and rewriting them to sugarcoat pills of protest they were anxious for the workers to swallow. This habit of singing doctored folksongs spread from the unions to a wider audience interested in a broader protest of a social and political nature. Influenced by current popular musical vogues, these "ersatz" folksongs reached a broader and broader audience and eventually were to vie with the products of Tin Pan Alley and the hillbilly writers for the attention of record buyers and radio-TV listeners. To the American public they served as a constant contact with "auld lang syne" in a period of tension and revolution, in spite of their artificially created controversial qualities. While the scholars were studying the true folksongs, the public was being fed the taste-tested imitation diet it desired.

The story of the tall tale and its vogue is much the same as the story of the ballad. This typically American form of anecdote-telling developed in rural areas and on the frontier. A loose, rambling story of personal experience, the tall tale is told casually in an offhand way, with utmost solemnity in the face of the most preposterous incidents. Much of its detail is irrelevant; its climax is often bathetic; and its purpose is really to "take in" the listener. Hoaxes, marvels and scrapes are the tall tale teller's stock in trade.

The tall tale is, of course, a truly American folk form. However, it grew up in an age of print in a nation of increasing education and communication. As a result, it has never been free of sophisticated and synthetic elements, and it is difficult for even the trained scholar to dis-

tinguish the folk tall tale from the tall tales written by the nineteenth-century magazine and newspaper hacks. Colonel Davy Crockett (1786-1836) became a true folk hero and there were tales about his exploits in oral circulation. However, most of his adventures originated in the minds hired by the Whigs to counteract the popularity of Andrew Jackson during the 1830s. Mike Fink (c. 1770-1823) was also a genuine folk hero, but his legend was developed far more energetically by the pulp writers of the 1840s and 1850s than by the folk themselves. And the Paul Bunyan stories seem to be largely the result of a brochure prepared for the Red River Lumber Company of Minneapolis and of rather recent magazine writers who have seen Bunyan as a symbol of the fast-vanishing forest life.

Finally, therefore, as one concludes his survey of the role of American folklore in American life from 1900 on, he is forced toward the somewhat cynical conclusion that folklore is generally misinterpreted and misunderstood by the nationalistic American public; that few writers can recognize, much less use, the true products of oral tradition; and that folklore is studied satisfactorily by but a few scholars. Like the beasts of the zoo, folklore is not enjoyed by Mr. and Mrs. John Doe if met with in the native state. It is too honest, too independent of nation, race and language, too moral for consumption by an America which is still emerging from a rural, self-centered, moralistic past.

As a nation, we are for the most part content with bogus heroes and manufactured legends, willing to leave the real products of our folk traditions to the keepers of the ivory tower. And on the whole this patriotic self-deception is completely harmless. Washington cuts down his cherry tree and refuses to lie. Lincoln tramps three miles at night to pay back $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents he had overcharged a lady customer. Priscilla Mullin tells John Alden to speak for himself. False as they may be, such anecdotes represent moral and social attributes dear to us and ours. The folklore scholar can be annoyed at this trash, but he cannot be greatly concerned over its vogue. It is only when the false legends spawn the idea that God is personally interested in the USA, that the American Constitution is an infallible document or that the Pilgrims were the inventors of democracy and free enterprise that one has cause for worry. Such ideas lead directly to a self-righteous and unrealistic American outlook in international affairs. When this is the case, the scholarly folklorist has the right to wish that good courses in what oral tradition is and how it has been misused were required in our schools and colleges.



Reviews

Conducted by Jane Knowles

Carl Becker: Twentieth-Century *Philosophy*

UNLIKE many of his contemporaries, Carl Becker wrote no multi-volumed work on the grand scale. He was not a tireless researcher in hitherto untapped archives; he amassed no mountains of footnotes; he produced no definitive biography or monumental history. Yet his fame continues to grow after the reputations of most of his colleagues and friends have waned. His publishers have kept most of his books in print; a collection of his essays has recently appeared in book form for the first time; and several of his works have been reprinted in paperback editions. Even more remarkable is the spate of articles and books about Becker and his work that has appeared in the slightly more than fifteen years since his death¹—including three recently published book-length studies: Charlotte W. Smith's *Carl Becker: On History and the Climate of Opinion*, Cushing Strout's *The Pragmatic Revolt in American History: Carl Becker and Charles Beard*, and Burleigh T. Wilkins' *Carl Becker: A Biographical Study in American Intellectual History*.²

¹ *Detachment and the Writing of History: Essays and Letters of Carl Becker*, ed. Phil L. Snyder (Ithaca, N.Y., 1958) contains a number of hitherto uncollected essays by Becker. A reassessment of Becker's *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers* is made by leading historians of the period in Raymond O. Rockwood, ed., *Carl Becker's Heavenly City Revisited* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1958). The most important articles on Becker since his death are: Guy Stanton Ford, "Carl Lotus Becker," *American Philosophical Society Yearbook* (1945), 338-46; George H. Sabine, Introduction to *Freedom and Responsibility in the American Way of Life* (New York, 1945); Louis Gottschalk, "Carl Becker: Skeptic or Humanist?" *Journal of Modern History*, XVIII (June, 1946), 160-62; Leo Gershoy, Introduction to *Progress and Power* (New York, 1949); Phil L. Snyder, "Carl Becker and the Great War: A Crisis for a Humane Intelligence," *Western Political Quarterly*, IX (March, 1956), 1-10; Perez Zagorin, "Carl Becker on History, Professor Becker's Two Histories: A Skeptical Fallacy," *American Historical Review*, LXII (October, 1956), 1-12; Leo Gershoy, "Zagorin's Interpretation of Becker: Some Observations," *ibid.*, 12-17; David Noble, "Carl Becker: Science, Relativism, and the Dilemma of Diderot," *Ethics*, LXVII (July, 1957), 233-48; and John C. Rule's essay-review of Strout's book in *History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History*, Vol. 1, No. II (1961), 215-19.

² Charlotte W. Smith, *Carl Becker: On History and the Climate of Opinion* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956); Cushing Strout, *The Pragmatic Revolt in American History: Carl Becker and Charles Beard* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1958); Burleigh T. Wilkins, *Carl Becker: A Biographical Study in American Intellectual History* (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press—Harvard University Press, 1961).

The reasons for the Becker renascence are not difficult to discern. First, his friends and students—led by Guy Stanton Ford, Louis Gottschalk, Leo Gershoy and George Sabine—have created a Becker cult which has kept his memory alive. Secondly, as Mrs. Smith shows, Becker was “one of the very few historians of our day accounted a writer, a man of letters, someone worth reading for pleasure.” Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the years since the Second World War have witnessed a growing interest among American historians in the philosophy of history. The publication, in 1946, of Social Science Research Council Bulletin 54, *Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography*, marked the end of the American historian’s philosophical innocence, and that report, in Mr. Strout’s words, reflected Becker’s “heuristic influence.”

Becker began his assault upon the idol of scientific history worshipped by the neo-Rankean followers of Herbert Baxter Adams as early as 1910, with his essay “Detachment and the Writing of History.” The American neo-Rankeans had, as Mr. Strout notes, oversimplified the teachings of the German master by interpreting his injunction *wie es eigentlich gewesen* in its narrowest and most literal sense. Rejecting their glorification of “cold, hard facts,” Becker championed what he called “relativism.” Facts do not speak for themselves; the historian must impose meaning upon the raw data of the past. “The past,” he wrote in his 1921 review of H. G. Wells’s *Outline of History*, “is a kind of screen upon which each generation projects its vision of the future,” and historians, however scrupulous, cannot divorce themselves from the “general preconceptions of the age in which they live.” That is why each generation sees the past differently; that is why history is ever written anew. The controversy stirred by this assault upon the Parnassus of scientific history still reverberates, and this continuing debate over the nature and limits of historical knowledge provides the major focus of interest for the three recent books about Becker.

Mrs. Smith began her study “as a work in American historiography, not as an attempt at biography.” Her purpose was “to deal with historical relativism as developed and expressed by Carl Becker.” But in the course of her writing, she discovered that she could not separate Becker’s historical relativism from his life and his political opinions. Finding these “somehow all of a piece,” she added a long biographical chapter along with two chapters about his writing style and technique. Yet the heart of the book remains a detailed analysis of his writings on the nature and meaning of history from his youthful declaration of intellectual independence in “Detachment and the Writing of History” to his final reflections thirty years later in “Some Generalities That Still

Glitter." Mrs. Smith discerns a single thread running throughout all his writings. Becker was always the critic, the questioner, the skeptical challenger of intellectual absolutism. "One of the first duties of man is not to be duped, to be aware of his world," he believed. And this, Mrs. Smith concludes, was his abiding concern—that the study of the past should enrich and expand man's life in the present.

Mr. Strout approaches Becker as a leading figure in "the revolt against scientifically oriented historical positivism." Believing that Becker "can be fully understood only by an interpretation which seeks to comprehend the organic relationship" of his philosophy of history, historical writings and political outlook, Mr. Strout was, in his own words, "forced to be both historian and philosopher." As a historian, he hails Becker's pioneering work in humanizing and broadening the study of history by exploring what Frederick Jackson Turner called "the vital forces" behind institutional and constitutional forms. But the major focus of his interest is Becker's historical relativism—and his appraisal is far less sympathetic than Mrs. Smith's. While praising the "devastating job" Becker performed in exposing "the superficial thinking" and "inflated pretensions" of the historical positivists, he finds Becker's own philosophy no less inadequate. Becker ended, he charges, "by resolving all standards of value, including the historian's, into the contemporary flux of social forces." His relativism, Mr. Strout concludes, led to "a skepticism which, instead of being constructively provisional, threatened to become destructively final."

The most ambitious of these works is Mr. Wilkins' study in "intellectual biography." "By relating his 'thoughts' to his 'environment' and by tracing the development—and the interconnections—of his ideas about history, philosophy, politics, religion, and literature," Mr. Wilkins explains, "I have tried to see Becker 'whole'. . . ." We learn about his youth in Iowa, his coming to maturity in the "stimulating atmosphere" of the University of Wisconsin, his apprenticeship under Frederick Jackson Turner and James Harvey Robinson, and the early skeptical bent that would lead to his later skepticism about all manner of absolutes, religious, philosophical and historical. We see Becker as "a man of paradox torn between skepticism and faith, between pragmatism and a belief in the intrinsic worth of certain principles and modes of life." We read of his disillusionment over the aftermath of World War One and his resulting loss of faith in the eighteenth-century belief in the rationality and perfectibility of man. We are shown how his fears that the liberalism he cherished was simply a "way-station" foredoomed to perish beneath "the dumb pressure of common men and machines" reinforced his skepticism about the writing of history. This skepticism,

Mr. Wilkins finds, reached its climax in his presidential address before the American Historical Association in 1931. In "Everyman His Own Historian," Becker reduced the historian to no more than the "keeper of useful myths."

With "Everyman," Mr. Strout charges, Becker approached a nihilism which "threaten[ed] to dissolve the distinction between history and propaganda, knowledge and myth." The accusation strikes close to home—and yet is, as Mrs. Smith demonstrates, unjust to Becker. Even at his most skeptical, Becker was never a nihilist. In his attacks upon the "scientific" historians, he stressed the relativity of historical truth. But he never believed that because we can not know the absolute truth, we can not distinguish error. Although the truth is relative, the historian must always strive for what is relatively truer. The historian, Becker wrote in his presidential address, "is under bond to be as honest . . . as human frailty permits," and his duty is to keep Mr. Everyman's history as far as possible in harmony with what actually happened. After 1931, shocked by the cynicism of the fascist dictatorships, Becker stressed more and more this aspect of his thought. As the showdown with the Axis neared, he reaffirmed his faith in the "eternal verities" of the Declaration of Independence, in the traditional values of free society—respect for the dignity of the individual, for reason, for the disinterested pursuit of the truth. For his fellow historians, he reaffirmed that the words truth and error had meaning, and that the search for truth must be their guiding star.

However much the questions he raised about the philosophy of history agitated the guild, Becker remained primarily a historian, not a philosopher. The publication in 1909 of his doctoral dissertation, *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760-1776*, won him immediate recognition; his celebrated aphorism that the question of who should rule at home was as important as that of home rule set the tone for much of the historical writing about the coming of the American Revolution in the years that followed. But this was his sole monograph in the conventional fashion; his true forte was the interpretative essay. "What historical research needs," he believed, "is a more subtle psychology," and, as Mr. Wilkins shows, Becker himself was a superb lay psychologist. He was interested not so much in *what* happened as in *why*, and his skill in capturing the "states of mind and feeling" of men in the past was first displayed in his brilliant word-picture "Kansas," was further polished in *The Eve of the Revolution* and *The Declaration of Independence* and reached its highest peak in *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers*.

The Heavenly City was Becker's most important book; Becker himself

regarded it as his most mature work—"the best constructed, the best thought out, and the best written." If popularity is any test, he was right: since 1932 the hard-cover edition has passed through ten printings and sold over 12,000 copies, and it has recently been reprinted in a paperback edition. Yet despite its popularity—or perhaps because of it—*The Heavenly City* remains a subject of controversy among historians. This controversy, Mr. Wilkins finds, reflects the dual nature of *The Heavenly City* as "a work of both historical imagination and present-mindedness." It was, writes Mr. Wilkins, the product of an intellectually sophisticated but weary liberal who saw in the eighteenth century "the principal source of all liberal democratic innocence." "Standing with one foot in the twentieth century and one in the eighteenth," Becker could not resist contrasting the naïveté of the eighteenth-century rationalists with the sophistication of the moderns, nor drawing the moral that the *philosophes* had, in his words, "demolished the Heavenly City of St. Augustine only to rebuild it with more up-to-date materials." As a result, Mr. Wilkins concludes, Becker was guilty of the very over-rationalization he found in the *philosophes*. He constructed, in short, an eighteenth-century world that never really existed.

This criticism, however, misses what is perhaps the most crucial point. Almost from the date of its publication, *The Heavenly City* had become a period piece. European historians such as Ernst Cassirer, Paul Hazard and Friedrich Meinecke had by the end of the 1930s given new depth and dimension to the historian's knowledge of the Enlightenment. The struggles of the eighteenth century were, they showed, born of the battles of the seventeenth; the boundaries of the Enlightenment were thus pushed back to the "general crises" of the mid-seventeenth century, when a new world picture emerged from the shattered universe of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas. This historiographical revolution has shown the Age of Reason to be a far more complex period than Becker had realized: an age of paradoxes, inconsistencies, divergences, far different from the thirteenth century, much more akin to the twentieth. Yet to dismiss *The Heavenly City* out of hand would be unfair. Becker never intended *The Heavenly City* as the final word on the Enlightenment, but wrote the essay as a challenge to historians, albeit a rather ironical one, to make them think anew about the eighteenth century. He was writing for an American audience still largely ignorant of the newer European scholarship—and he did so with such wit, urbanity and brilliant flashes of insight that his book continues to stimulate younger scholars to pursue new and fruitful lines of study.

No final judgment upon Becker is yet possible. But his present reputation continues high. Even Mr. Strout, who sharply criticizes his rela-

tivism as "a counsel of despair," finds Becker's influence on the whole salutary. Although his own historical writings have been largely outdated by more recent scholarship, his example has freed American historians from the tyranny of history as past politics and brought within their ken new dimensions of the past. As a philosopher of history, Becker was not a profound thinker. Knowing no Italian and scant German, he was acquainted with the leading European thinkers only through translations of their works or popularizations in English. In comparison with the more sophisticated work of a Croce or a Meinecke, his philosophical writings have an amateurish quality. But whatever his shortcomings, he deserves praise for his leadership in the revolt against the false gods of scientific history. While he could not answer all the questions he raised, he did have the insight to ask them. In his own life, as Mr. Wilkins shows, Carl Becker mirrored the crises of his age.

This quality is what makes Becker so elusive a figure for his biographers to grasp. His life was uneventful by all outward appearances; the stranger might easily mistake him for a colorless, even "mousy," man. Yet in the realm of the mind, Becker's was an exciting life; he lived, as Mrs. Smith writes, "the high adventure of a courageous and discriminating mind confronting the universe without fear and without illusion." Unhappily, none of the present books captures the spirit of this high adventure. The topical approach taken by Mrs. Smith presents a truncated and wooden Becker with all the life-juices squeezed out. Although skillful in portraying the larger philosophical and historical context in which Becker did his work, Mr. Strout is no more successful than Mrs. Smith in revealing the man. Following a similar topical approach, his book suffers from the same woodenness and lifelessness. Mr. Wilkins chronicles the details of Becker's life with meticulous and relentless care, but withal displays scant imagination. Seldom does he rise above his material to view the whole man. The best approach to this perhaps greatest of latter-day *philosophes* remains through his own writings. There one can find the restless questioner, the skeptical believer, the passionate searcher for truth that was Carl Becker.

JOHN BRAEMAN & JOHN C. RULE, *Ohio State University*

WAYNE ANDREWS, *Architecture in America: A Photographic History from the Colonial Period to the Present*. 182 pp. Atheneum Publishers, 1960. \$15.00. Illus.

THE few general histories of American architecture already include one provoking account by Wayne Andrews (1955). Now his beautifully rendered, informal "photographic survey" from mid-seventeenth century

forward becomes the best single *illustrated* volume among them. Andrews' skillful, often magnificent, pictures from normal approaches remind unacrobatic observers how great buildings form a composition, utilize materials, merge with their sites and (occasionally) compare to surrounding structures.

First he reviews the colonial, federal and romantic eras (stressing the last) plus "The Age of Indecision" (a post-Civil War, pre-Richardsonian moment when style was "brutal and confused" yet still "vital"). A longer section then shows individual works from Richardson to the contemporary Californians. Aside from a Stella-like impression of Brooklyn Bridge from the center walk or perhaps the remarkable lighting and angle on the Zia Pueblo mission (1692) suggesting Corbusier's molded chapel forms, few special technical tricks favor one construct over another. Nor does the author state a thesis. He admits a "bias" his readers old or new will recognize quickly enough but he hopes the photographs will urge us to go judge the buildings for ourselves. They do. His minimal text—brief, suggestive but unobtrusive—consists almost entirely of photograph-captions. This is artful "history."

Besides its visual worth, at least two other points should interest the student of American culture. First, this is architecture with a capital *A*—excellent examples of our finest monuments. But these classroom views treat design as a Fine Art alone. Genuinely creative work is deemed, vaguely, a "personal" matter. Wright gets twenty-four pages, the earlier McKim, Meade and White fifteen. "Impersonal" architects Breuer, Gropius, Van der Rohe and Johnson get three (no interior shots), including the only apartment house shown and an excerpt from Miës's famous plea of 1924 for a more modern, secular Architecture. ("The individual is losing his significance; his destiny is no longer what interests us.") Miës, we are told, "has been true to the ideal he set for himself."

Second, it is clear, whatever one's personal tastes, that our monuments are for a few select, always moneyed, individuals. Two-thirds of the structures shown are their spacious, costly, ultra-detached residences. Virtually all others are the offices, churches, clubs and institutes they dominate. There is one shelter of middle-level or less, but of remote distinction (the Sister House, Ephrata, 1741). For all its obvious diversity, external brilliance and vigor, the Architecture we applaud and aspire to has been narrowly *used*. This is not criticism of the undogmatic Mr. Andrews' useful book ("Not everyone will agree with my emphasis. I fail to see why they should"). Rather, once again a book confirms the history to date of Architecture in the United States.

JOHN L. HANCOCK, *Stockholm University*

JOSEPH E. GOULD, *The Chataqua Movement*. ix, 108 pp. State University of New York Press, 1961. \$4.50.

THIS is a lively sketch, no more than that, of one of the most influential systems of popular education in American history. "Chataqua," a mere name to the average Atomic Age undergraduate, was flourishing as late as the mid-twenties. Today, except of course in the memories of many thousands of older Americans, this uniquely native institution is all but forgotten. This slight book will not do much to freshen contemporary interest.

Dr. Gould, of the state College of Education at Fredonia, N. Y., traces Chataqua from its origination in 1874 by Dr. John H. Vincent and Lewis Miller. Disproportionate attention is given to the career of William Rainey Harper, early Chataqua principal who became in 1891 first president of the Rockefeller-founded University of Chicago. More space could have been allotted to Tent Chataqua which lingered on into Depression years. Its mid-western manager Keith Vawter is mentioned, but not J. Roy Ellison, who took the programs to the coast, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

The last pages elaborate a bit on the subtitle, "An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution," making passing reference to present summer sessions at original Chataqua Lake, N. Y. There are footnotes but no bibliography or index. Sixteen pages of photographs illustrate turn-of-the-century activities. The author closes with in effect a question to television-uneducated audiences, "After Conformity, What?" No Chataquans answer is supplied.

ANDREW B. MYERS, *Fordham University*

WALTER HUGINS, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement, 1829-1837*. 224 pp. Stanford University Press, 1960. \$6.00.

PERHAPS the greatest irony in the labor movement in the Jacksonian era was that it helped create the economic and political conditions most destructive to its own interests and ends. Jeffersonian by conviction, the workingmen of the 1830s fought against both "law created privilege" and "an aristocratic system which would deny to all but a few the opportunity to partake in the future of the nation." The result of their efforts against monopolies in banking and public utilities was not, as some of them had hoped, a reconciliation of agrarian values and equality of economic opportunity, but a burgeoning of business and industrial enterprise which, under the aegis of the "self-made" man, brought about a new aristocratic system under the name of capitalism.

In this book, Walter Hugins compiles an impressive body of evidence to demonstrate the occupational nature of that group of Jacksonians who called themselves workingmen. The movement included the physicians, attorneys and grocers who played a leading role during the Locofoco period of 1835-37, as well as carpenters, tailors, printers, masons, shoemakers and cabinetmakers. Mr. Hugins' data, derived mainly from newspaper reports and from directories, reveal that, comprised largely of tradesmen and mechanics, the Jacksonian workingmen were by no means hostile to business but were interested in achieving an equalization of economic opportunity under law. When finally achieved later in the century, the permissive business climate they sought to have legislated resulted in the great concentration of power in the hands of the "Robber Barons" who exploited the laissez faire conditions after the Civil War to build more powerful monopolies than had existed in the 1830s and effectively changed the tradesmen and mechanics from small businessmen to factory employees, and kept them relatively unorganized and powerless.

Of particular interest to the specialist in the Jacksonian period and to the labor historian, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class* offers valuable insights into the pragmatic nature of the American labor movement in its earliest days. While Mr. Hugins' thesis is by no means original, his painstaking compilation and tabulation of materials on the vocational identity of the Jacksonian workingmen provide useful and effective documentation for historical theories that have heretofore been based upon conjecture.

REX BURBANK, *San Jose State College*

T. HARRY WILLIAMS, *Americans at War: The Development of the American Military System*. xii, 139 pp. Louisiana State University Press, 1960. \$3.50.

THE ULTIMATE DECISION: THE PRESIDENT AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF. Edited by Ernest R. May. xvii, 290 pp. George Braziller, Inc., 1960. \$6.00.

IN *Americans at War*, T. Harry Williams summarizes the history of the American command system down through World War I. His purpose is to make the experience of the past more readily available to the men who must grapple with the complex problem of the present, for he insists that "some of the most serious shortcomings in our military policy have come about because soldiers and civilians have had an inadequate or inaccurate appreciation of our history." Boyd Professor of History at Louisiana State University where he has taught military history for over fifteen years and author of well-known Civil War studies, Professor

Williams is eminently qualified for his task. He organizes his study in three essays dealing with the American military system from the Revolution down to 1860, the military systems of the North and of the South during the Civil War, and the military system from 1865 to the outbreak of World War II. As he reviews the record he points to the excellence of the 1864 command system of the North, a major factor in its victory in the Civil War. In fact, he asserts that "it was probably the most efficient system that we have ever had." In the relationship of Lincoln and Grant and the system they developed he discovers two key factors: the importance of extemporized arrangements worked out in accordance with the popular genius and the American environment, and the fact "that men are vastly more significant than the structural perfection of any system." Failure to understand correctly the lessons of the Civil War experience produced some of the most serious problems in military command in the conflict with Spain and in World War I.

Ernest R. May in *The Ultimate Decision* is concerned with the role of the President as Commander in Chief of the armed forces. In an introductory chapter, May, Associate Professor at Harvard and author of *The World War and American Isolation, 1914-1917*, describes the background in the light of which the framers of the Constitution decreed that the "President shall be Commander in Chief" and details what they probably meant by that phrase. Eight essays are devoted to a description of the manner in which the wartime presidents have handled their tasks. Professor May writes about McKinley, Wilson and Eisenhower; Marcus Cunliffe about Madison; Leonard D. White about Polk; T. Harry Williams about Lincoln; William R. Emerson about Franklin D. Roosevelt; and Wilbur W. Hoare Jr. about Truman. The latter President is judged to have been, "in more respects than most, . . . the commander in chief envisioned by the writers of the Constitution." Not only did he develop a splendidly competent staff of military advisers with whom he worked smoothly and efficiently, but he recognized clearly that strategy must be the servant of policy and that his choices must be those of a politician—President and party leader—responsible to public opinion and to the national interest.

Taken together, these two volumes, based in solid scholarship, well organized and written in an easy style, provide most helpful information and interpretation valuable alike to the general historian and the specialist in military history. They should be required reading for those men in public life with responsibility for managing the military might of the nation.

WILLIAM D. METZ, *University of Rhode Island*

MAX KAPLAN, *Leisure in America: A Social Inquiry*. vii, 350 pp. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960. \$7.50.

TAKING his cue from the often-stated but seldom developed view of leisure as a major institutional core of society, Max Kaplan investigates his subject from a multi-faceted sociological perspective. The author is the Director of the Arts Center, School of Fine and Applied Arts, Boston University. His study of leisure, while based upon generally accepted theories of such persons as Riesman, Fromm and Veblen and the data from many empirical investigations, breaks much new ground in its scope and comprehension.

After posing his problem in terms of leisure as an end of life, as an element in the diagnosis of culture and as a social relationship, Kaplan explores leisure in its relationships to other features of American social life: work, personality, family, social class, minority groups, community, state and religion. As an example of the mature syntheses but pioneering hypotheses with which the book abounds, one may select almost at random a conclusion that Kaplan reaches in a discussion of leisure and systems of social values. Generally, "the leisure activity becomes decreasingly successful on a continuum as the points of conflict increase and as the intensity of conflict deepens" (p. 164). There is, nevertheless, every reluctance to set forth broad abstractions that account for all situations in which leisure is a factor.

A third section of *Leisure in America* deals with types and meanings of leisure which grow out of three major concerns: 1) the degree to which *people* or *interests*, i.e., sociability or association, provide sources of leisure; 2) the degree to which leisure develops from *rules* or *creative traditions*, i.e., games or art; 3) the degree to which, in leisure activity, the individual *goes* to the world or *brings* the world to him, i.e., movement or immobility. One is hard-put to think of a leisure activity that cannot find a place under at least one of these rubrics.

The two concluding sections of the book under review widen once again to broader societal perspectives of social control, roles, structure and change as they relate to leisure, and to problems of creativity in an era of "new" social, psychological and technological leisure.

Although *Leisure in America* is limited to the discussion of the subject as it pertains to one society and in spite of a terse style that will make many readers uneasy, Kaplan has gone a long way toward defining leisure as a field of social inquiry. As a field, it is bound to become more important as the new leisure of industrial Western civilization spreads throughout the world.

WAYNE WHEELER, *University of Chicago*

NORTH CALLAHAN, *Daniel Morgan: Ranger of the Revolution*. 335 pp. Holt, Rinehart and Winston Co., Inc., 1961. \$5.00.

DANIEL MORGAN, expert rifleman of Virginia, now steps forth as a prominent general of the American Revolution in an exciting biography by the well-known historian, North Callahan. Young Morgan grew sturdy and restless with frontier living and was happy when the day came that he could join the militia and hunt Indians. Local skirmishes with the redskins brought renown and bigger game—the Redcoats.

It was in July, 1775, that Morgan and "ninety-six stalwarts" left for Cambridge, Massachusetts, and later embarked on a daring expedition to capture Quebec. "Here was promised warfare as Morgan had learned it, as he so well knew it, a chance to march in the hills, along the rivers and through the woods, to get his strong feet in the good wilderness earth and tear it apart as he and his riflemen pushed toward the enemy." But nature is a rugged teacher and the bedraggled Americans that came out of the Maine wilderness to face walled Quebec had little more than piercing memories of a dogged struggle against overwhelming odds. The ramparts of the city proved to be too strong; the expedition failed; Morgan was taken prisoner; then, the long wait until parole was granted.

Morgan learned the heroic way the great names of the Revolution—Saratoga, Valley Forge and Monmouth. It was not, however, until Morgan, "the rough hewn, Revolutionary symbol of the frontier," met "Tarleton, an English aristocrat, proud, educated, wealthy and disdainful," at Cowpens that the mettle and experience of Morgan and his men proved decisive. Of that American victory, Greene told Washington, "The event is glorious. . . . The brilliancy and success with which it was fought does the highest honor to the American arms and adds splendor to the character of the general and his officers."

HENRY C. ATYEO, *New York University*

HENRY S. KARIEL, *The Decline of American Pluralism*. x, 339 pp. Stanford University Press, 1961. \$6.75.

MR. KARIEL is concerned with threats to the fundamental hope of this nation, namely, perpetuation of a constitutional democracy. When the nation was made up of small farmers, pluralism seemed an adequate safeguard. But, in the course of decades, technology made possible the rise of private organizational giants in agriculture, in industry, in labor, in the professions and in trade associations. Controls of these groups have been grasped by self-perpetuating oligarchies whose interests may

be at variance with those of the groups. None the less, the oligarchy, aided and abetted by our political structure, speaks and legislates for the group. This poses a major threat to constitutional democracy and to the freedom of the individual. Those who differ from the control group are denied a voice in policy. Since it is easier for these oligarchies to influence state and local governments, they tend to glorify states' rights. Even the social scientists have not visualized the fundamental problem in their research. Those who accept the doctrine of determinism have erred most. Preservation of constitutional democracy lies in centralizing the government. "Virtually all our public problems today are national problems, and they must be dealt with nationally." Political parties must be freed of oligarchical pressures that they, through the President and the Congress, might truly speak for the people.

J. S. SPRATT, *Southern Methodist University*

ALBERT VAN NOSTRAND, *The Denatured Novel*. 224 pp. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1960. \$3.50.

PERHAPS the most important chapter of this book is the second, "How to Denature a Novel," in which the author makes a detailed discrimination between the "serious," or traditional novel, "which develops an involvement comparable to the unresolved complexity of the world," and the "denatured," or popular novel, which "evades complexity and simplifies its subject." According to Mr. Van Nostrand, the "book trade," dominated by its distributors, is responsible for the prevalence of the latter, inferior article. Like many modern Jeremiahs, however, Mr. Van Nostrand fails to provide us with a solution for this problem, and, by tracing the history of American publishing through the nineteenth century, he makes one feel that the lamentable course of events leading to the rising flood of mass literature was, after all, inevitable: "The book trade has always encouraged the stylization of the novel, the thinning out of analogous conflicts to get on with the story."

The burden of the book is an examination of the whys and wherefores of this "encouragement," with side-excursions to Hollywood and Madison Avenue (via an examination of the "outside idiom" of paperbacks). The modern "popular" novel, as wittily dissected here, is fast-paced, imitative and mannered; under the guise of presenting a moral lesson, it peddles the worst kind of licentious wish-gratification. Particular targets of Van Nostrand's attack are novels of business and war, the works of Marquand, Wouk and Mailer and the cheap successors of those works. There is also

a lengthy and interesting consideration of the reasons behind the popularity of Erskine Caldwell's tumid fiction.

One of the most fascinating aspects of this book, however, is its colorful jacket, which, while providing proof of the author's assertions, causes the reader to doubt the efficacy of his attack. For although Mr. Van Nostrand berates the publisher who battens on trends, who uses "the old promotional device of trying to cash in on someone else's best seller," the blurb on the jacket asserts brazenly that "*advertising had its THE HIDDEN PERSUADERS. The automobile industry had its THE INSOLENT CHARIOTS. Radio and television had their THE GREAT MAN. Now all phases of the publishing industry come in for the same shrewd and deadly analysis. . . .*" Such temerity is truly satanic.

JOHN D. SEELYE, *University of California, Berkeley*

T. HARRY WILLIAMS, *Romance and Realism in Southern Politics*. xii, 84 pp. University of Georgia Press, 1961. \$2.50.

IN four succinct and penetrating lectures Professor T. Harry Williams has analyzed the motivating fictions and facts of Southern politics in his *Romance and Realism in Southern Politics*. The distinction of the South, he suggests, lay in the fact that commencing in the 1830s the South, not participating in the dominant thrusts of industrialization, retreated into the world of the myth of the aristocratic, civilized, agrarian way of life. In this world of unreality criticism of the accepted myth constituted a fundamental disloyalty. In the second lecture on Reconstruction he points out that Southern thinking was far from monolithic. Many Southern leaders insisted that Negroes should have full rights of equal citizenship, though this did not, of course, extend to the social sphere. Men of property were disturbed not because of the race question but because the Negroes constituted a large propertyless mass which would insist on leveling policies. The Louisiana Unification Movement of 1873 provided the alternative of an alliance of whites and Negroes to oust Republican carpetbag rule, but the alliance failed because the mass of small farmers of central and northern Louisiana were vehemently opposed. With the failure to subordinate the race issue the Bourbons after the 1870s used the issue to defeat both the Populist and Progressive protests. Originally the Populists attempted to transcend race on the grounds of economic self-interest, but the attempt was doomed to failure. The result was that whites both rich and poor moved to eliminate the Negro vote from being a political football by disfranchising the Negro altogether. Behind the façade of white supremacy Southern Populism and Progressivism

promised much and delivered little. In the final lecture, the author holds that it was Huey Long who went to the "jugular vein" of Southern politics. Long ignored the myth of the Old South, and Lost Cause and even the race issue. Power and economics were his concern. Despite his methods, which Professor Williams holds were essentially Southern and American, "he forcibly introduced a large element of realism into Southern Politics," and undertook to solve fundamental economic and social problems.

This literate and perceptive series of lectures is exceedingly worthwhile. The final lecture on The Politics of the Longs is a brief foretaste of what promises to be an outstanding study of Huey P. Long which the author now has in preparation.

GEORGE A. PEEK JR., *University of Michigan*

LOUIS FILLER, *Crusaders for American Liberalism: The Story of the Muckrakers*. xxiv, 422 pp. The Antioch Press, 1961. \$4.00.

FIRST published in 1939, this superior study of the Muckrakers is here reprinted. A general 24-page essay is added: "The Critic of Business and the Organization Man."

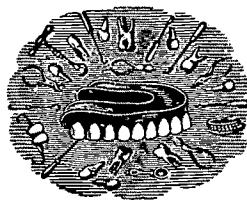
Filler found his crowd of Progressives was "democratic," really "liberal," "popular," and married to somewhat "dangerous" business, for it demonstrated that democracy's estate was in jeopardy. Muckrakers weighed, appreciated, fact-found, were outraged, yet remained hopefully moderate. As proper liberals, they roundly denounced what they understood to be defamatory of their own. But they refused to abandon temperate positions, and addressed their generation as reasonable men. What truths they honored forbade cynicism, sentimentality, alienation and scapegoating.

Filler admired variety among his social rakers. The more cautious Tarbell, Baker or White accompanied the more flamboyant Steffens, Sinclair or Darrow. Literary spirits as unlike as Dreiser, Phillips, McClure, Bok and Hapgood shared place with politicians like T. R., Bryan, Hughes, Jones, Beveridge and La Follette. Room there was for rich Fels and Filene; scholarly Beard and Boaz; laborious Gompers and even Mitchell; but not for "radical" Debs or Haywood.

No mere panegyrist, Filler reviewed fallible, whole men. Liberals must be that sturdy. The Muckrakers hoped that their facts would virtually speak for themselves. They expected social results from inelegant, autonomous "individuals" and from laws left unguarded by administrators

and funds. They exaggerated the proportions of labor racketeering and of managerial innocence. The real "radicals," immigrants, Negroes and Anglo-Saxon slum-dwellers seemed too strange. Filler concluded that the Muckrakers failed to frame a "sophisticated" composite portrait of the many Americas, and were "fatuous" in equating democracy with triumphant material production. At least, Muckrakers were whole and fallible. Similarly true persons are in short supply among our "incompetent" present-day "verbalists."

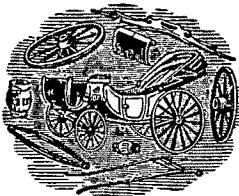
DAVID GORDON BRIDGMAN, *Colby College*



American Calendar

Winter

1961



TEXAS. The sixth annual meeting of ASA of Texas took place at Southern Methodist University on December 2. The theme for the meeting was "Mark Twain's Ordeal: A Reconsideration of Van Wyck Brooks' Thesis." Papers at the morning session included "Twain's Ordeal in Retrospect," E. Hudson Long, Baylor University; "The Unfreudian Analysis of a Dead Man's Unconscious," John S. Chapman, University of Texas Southwestern Medical School; and "The Humorist vs. the Humorless: Twain as Brooks Never Saw Him," Pascal Covici Jr., Southern Methodist University. Walter Rundell Jr., American Historical Association, presided. At a luncheon meeting Rabbi Levi A. Olan, Temple Emanu-El, Dallas, spoke on "Mark Twain and the Nature of Man," and James A. Tinsley, chapter president, presided. Papers at the afternoon meeting were "Science and the Ordeal of Mark Twain," David D. Van Tassel, University of Texas; "Not Doctrine, but Fact," Richard H. Powers, Southern Methodist University; and "The 'Ordeal' of

Van Wyck Brooks," John Q. Hays, A. & M. College of Texas. Ruth S. Angell, Texas Christian University, presided. Paul F. Boller, Jr., Southern Methodist University, was chairman of the program committee.

ASIANS. Nine Asian scholars will attend the joint session of ASA and the American Historical Association to be held in Washington on December 29 and seventeen will attend the joint session of ASA with the Modern Language Association in Chicago on December 28. They have received travel grants from ASA under a program, now in its third year, which is supported by the Asia Foundation. The selection committee this year consisted of John Ashmead, Haverford College, and Arthur Dudden, Bryn Mawr College. Recipients are encouraged to attend other sessions of these professional societies and to visit nearby cultural institutions and historic sites. A host committee will assist Asians at both meetings, with Robert Walker, George Washington University, as chair-

man for the AHA and Walter Rideout, Northwestern University, for the MLA. Each recipient is offered a three-year membership in ASA. More than 100 applications were received for these grants.

TRAVEL GRANTS. Grants awarded to Asian scholars for the ASA-AHA joint session were made to Giri Shridhar Dixit, India; Pei-Chih Hsieh, China; Randhir Bahadur Jain, India; Masao Nishikawa, Japan; Myo Nyunt, Burma; Seva Sud, India; Yukio Tominaga, Japan; Robert T. H. Yang, China; and R. Krishnamurti, India. Grants for the ASA-MLA meeting went to Sayedul Abrar, West Pakistan; Federico Aquino, Philippines; Kah Kyung Cho, Korea; Rony Diaz, Philippines; Sisirkumar Ghose, India; Leopoldo Gonzales, Philippines; Katsuhiro Jinzaki, Japan; Raj Kumar Kohli, India; Ho-Seong Lee, Korea; Nathan Mao, Hong Kong; Pochong Mar, Hong Kong; Sujit Kumar Mukherjee, India; Madhukar Krishna Naik, India; Toshihiko Sato, Japan; Om Sharma, India; Sherman K. J. Yin, China; and Itrat-Husain Zuberi, Pakistan.

NEW YORK CITY. A meeting on "Taboos in Mass Media" was held jointly by the New York City chapters of ASA and the College English Association on November 4. Papers included "Technology and Taboos in the Mass Media," Gilbert Seldes, University

of Pennsylvania; "Mind over Madison Avenue: The Intellectual in a Mass Society," David Boroff, New York University; "The Sterile Tube: Ideas in Television Drama," Ernest Kinoy, TV writer; "Timid Madison Avenue: Is It Taste or Is It Taboo?" John Bergen, vice president, Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn; and "Reflections on Television in the Academy," Nat Shoehalter, Rutgers University. Presiding were Henry Wasser, ASA, City College of New York, and Edward Huberman, CEA, Rutgers University, presidents of the two chapters.

LOWER MISS. The seventh annual meeting of ASA of the Lower Mississippi was held in New Orleans on October 20-21 under the sponsorship of Louisiana State University in New Orleans and Tulane University. The program considered the Civil War and began with an address by Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, entitled "The Brothers' War." A second session consisted of papers by Shelby Foote, novelist, on "The Novelist's View of History" and John K. Bettersworth, Mississippi State University, "The Civil War Historian: Visionist or Revisionist?" The papers were discussed by a panel consisting of John Allen, Mississippi Southern College; Stephen E. Ambrose, Louisiana State University in New Orleans; and Ralph E. Hitt, Delta State College. New officers are Scott C. Osborn, Missis-

sippi State University, president; Milton Rickels, Southwestern Louisiana University, vice president; and John Pilkington Jr., University of Mississippi, secretary-treasurer.

MICH.-OHIO-IND. ASA of Michigan and the Ohio-Indiana ASA met together at Heidelberg College, Tiffin, Ohio, on November 3-4 for a program on "Regionalism in American Life." Papers at the morning session were "Middlewestern Little Magazines: The Birth and Death of a Regional Movement" by Paul R. Stewart, Butler University, and "Regionalism in American Art" by Betty Chmaj, University of Michigan. Bernard Duffey, Michigan State University, provided comment and Virginia Platt, Bowling Green State University, presided. The luncheon speaker was John Allen Krout, vice president, Columbia University. Kenneth Davison was in charge of local arrangements.

SHA. "The Historical Uses of Sub-literature" was the topic of a joint session of ASA with the Southern Historical Association in Chattanooga, Tenn., on November 9. Maurice Moore, University of the South, was chairman. Papers were given on "School Textbooks," J. Merton England, National Science Foundation; "The Patent Medicine Almanac," J. Harvey Young, Emory University; and "The Horatio Alger Novels," John G. Cawelti,

University of Chicago. Theodore L. Agnew, Oklahoma State University, was discussant.

SAMLA. A joint session of Southeastern ASA and the South Atlantic Modern Language Association was held in Atlanta on November 11. The group discussed "Problems of the Complete or Collected Edition." Individual authors considered were "Nathaniel Hawthorne" by Randall Stewart, Vanderbilt University; "William Gilmore Simms" by James Meriwether, University of North Carolina; "Andrew Johnson" by LeRoy P. Graf, University of Tennessee; and "Walt Whitman" by Floyd Stovall, University of Virginia. Comment was provided by Fredson Bowers, University of Virginia. Edd W. Parks, University of Georgia, presided.

FELLOWSHIPS. The John Carter Brown Library of Brown University announces the establishment of a limited number of post-doctoral fellowships "to provide opportunities to work in the Library's outstanding collection of books relating to America printed before 1800." The grants carry a stipend of between \$500 and \$600 per month and will not be made for less than two months. Applications may be obtained from the Library, Providence 12, R. I., and must be received by February 1, 1962. . . . The John Carter Brown Library also announces the creation of fellowships for advanced graduate

students "designed to provide a graduate student engaged in writing his thesis with an opportunity to carry out research" in its collection. Awards are for 12 months and carry a stipend of \$4,000 plus \$600 for each dependent. Applications must be received by February 1, 1962. . . . Application for both the post-doctoral and graduate fellowships may be for work in any American Studies discipline which makes important use of the John Carter Brown holdings.

IN BRIEF. Visiting professors at the Institute of American Studies of the University of Hawaii this year are Stuart Gerry Brown, Syracuse University, and Reuel N. Denney, University of Chicago. The director is Patrick D. Hazard, on leave from the University of Pennsylvania. . . . C. Hugh Holman, University of North Carolina, has been appointed co-chairman of the ASA Committee on Cooperating Societies. One of the main duties of this committee is to plan programs for joint sessions. . . . The Social Science Research Council (230 Park Ave., New York 17) offers Research Training Fellowships to "persons who have demonstrated unusual aptitude for research and who are judged likely to contribute significantly to the advancement of social science research." The awards are intended to develop competence in research beyond that ordinarily

required of Ph.D. candidates. . . . Ben Harris McClary, Tennessee Wesleyan College, Athens, announced the organization of the Sut Society and its forthcoming journal, *The Lovingood Papers*. The group plans to study and reprint the writings of George Washington Harris with due attention to "the milieu in which Harris worked." Copies of the journal will be sent free upon request. . . . The Eleutherian Mills Historical Library has been established at Wilmington, Del., as a center for research in the industrial and business history of eastern Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland. Its facilities are spacious and modern and its collections systematically arranged. The core of its holdings are manuscript and printed accumulations of the du Pont family for the past two hundred years. . . . The University of South Carolina is the recipient of the Henry P. Kendall Collection of early southern maps, charts and prints, among the finest in the country. . . . The Winterthur Program in Early American Culture, leading to an M.A. degree and training for careers with museums and historic sites, again offers fellowships which include a \$2,500 grant for each year of the two year program. Application blanks should be filed by February 15, 1962, with the Program Coordinator, University of Delaware, Newark.

COMMUNICATION

Sir:

While looking through the last eight issues of *American Quarterly* I noticed the following titles among the dissertations in progress:

- The Image of the Negro in New York State
- Image of the Negro in Ante-Bellum Southern Diaries
- The Image of the Chinese in America
- The Image of America as Presented by the Voice of America
- The Image of the Lawyer in American Novels
- The Image of Women in American Magazine Fiction
- The American Image of Germany
- Images of America in the Contemporary French Novel
- The Image of the American Farmer
- T. A. Stribling's Image of the South in Tradition
- Recent American Novelists and Their Image of Early Mormon Society
- Nathaniel Hawthorne's Image of Puritanism
- The Liberal Image of America in England and France
- The Image of Italy in American Culture
- The Changing Image of the American Woman in a Mass Periodical

I then turned to the interesting bibliographies of writings in American Studies which yielded:

- The New Images of the Chicago Group
- Der Wandel des Amerikabildes seit Upton Sinclair
- The Imagery of George Washington Harris
- Das Deutschlandbild in Amerika
- The Imagery of *The Red Badge of Courage*
- Anatomie des Konformismus: Korrekturen in unserem Amerika-Bild
- The Kern Brothers and the Image of the West
- The Image of the High School Teacher in American Literature
- The Image of Man in Modern American Drama
- The Moving Image
- Communication Research and the Image of Society
- American Perspectives: The National Self-Image in the 20th Century
- America and the Image of Europe
- The Image of America in Europe
- The book reviews included these two:
- The Jefferson Image in the American Mind
- The Image of War
- There was also one advertisement for a book:
- Twain and the Image of History

The "American Calendar" reported the following papers or programs:

- The Elite Image
- Melville's Prisoners: An Image Cluster
- The Use of Imagery Analysis in Cultural Interpretation
- The Historian's Image of the Early 19th Century Frontier
- The American Frontier as Image and Reality
- C. P. Snow's Image of the Political Process
- The Influence of European Sociological Thought on the American Self-Image
- The Image of America and National Defense
- The Image of the Midwest

I had been aware of the image-makers and image seekers in business, public relations and politics. My above intensive research in *American Quarterly* — it took me almost an hour — leads me to believe that the Image is now also very much in the picture in American Studies.

Sincerely,

JOHN MAASS
Philadelphia, Pa.

P.S.: I write very little, but my bibliography includes:

- Images and Letters (an article, 1959)
- Image of the White Man (an article, 1960)
- The Image of Philadelphia (a public lecture, 1960)
- Imaginary Architecture (in press)

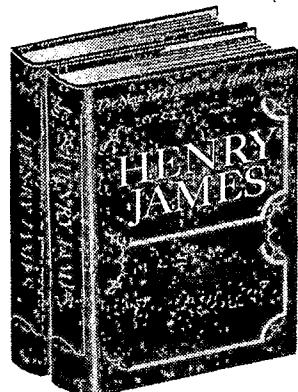
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